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FOUR
DISSERTATIONS,
ON THE
Reciprocal ADVANTAGES
OF A
Perpetual UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT-BRITAIN
AND HER
AMERICAN COLONIES.
WRITTEN

For Mr. SARGENT'S PRIZE-MEDAL.

To which (*by Desire*) is prefixed,

AN EULOGIUM,

Spoken on the Delivery of the MEDAL
at the Public Commencement in the College of
Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD, at the
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PREFACE,


P R E F A C E,

ADDRESSED TO

JOHN SARGENT, Esq;

Member of Parliament, &c..

Worthy S I R,

 S the following Dissertations owe their birth to your judicious choice of the subject, and liberal encouragement of it, they now naturally wait upon you for your protection and countenance. Your original design having been only to excite a noble emulation among the youth of an infant Seminary, in a remote part of the world, and to turn their early attention to a matter of very high and national importance, you will not look for any thing in the execution beyond their years, their experience, or opportunities of information.

YOUR known candor will likewise lead you to consider the peculiar difficulties, arising from the times and circumstances, in which these pieces were composed. An act of the *British* parliament had become the

fatal cause of an unhappy breach of that UNION which had so long subsisted (and ever ought to subsist) between the Colonies and the mother country; and very general were the agitations and uneasiness thereby produced on this side of the *Atlantic*. Even hoary age, and men of the most subdued passions among us, admitting the most plenary jurisdiction of a *British* Parliament, could not, in this particular case, but consider their conduct as at least unkind to their *American* fellow subjects, in desiring (without any present necessity that appeared to us) to come between us and our Sovereign, and to lay a foundation which might easily have been drawn into a precedent for depriving us of all future opportunities of testifying our loyalty, by the free and voluntary grant of our own money.

If, then, such was the light in which the *cool* and the *aged* considered this matter, expressions of a warmer and more unguarded kind might have dropt from the pens of youth! Yet no such thing appears in the following Dissertations, which are laid before the public in the genuine form and dress wherein they were presented by their authors.

Nor

Nor was it possible that the smallest additions or alterations could be made consistent with the plan pursued in the execution of your trust; which plan you ought to have an account of, and it may also be of use to preserve it here, by way of precedent for future occasions of the like kind.

SEVERAL considerations having prevented the Trustees of the College from proposing your MEDALS to be contended for by the youth, the first year after the receipt of them; they were at last proposed, by an advertisement as follows, viz.

College of Philadelphia, March 6, 1766.

“ WHEREAS John Sargent, Esq; merchant in London, and member of Parliament, hath presented to this College a
 “ * GOLD MEDAL, for the best *English* essay
 “ *on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual*
 “ *UNION between Great-Britain and her Ame-*
 “ *rican Colonies.*----Notice is hereby given,
 “ by order of the Trustees, that the said
 “ *Medal* will be disposed of at the ensuing
 “ con-

* Only so much of the advertisement is here inserted as relates to the disposition of the Medal, which produced the following Essays; Mr. Sargent's other Medal not being yet disposed of.

“ commencement in *May*, for the best essay
 “ that shall be produced on the subject pro-
 “ posed, by any of those who have received
 “ any degree, or part of their education in
 “ this College----And as the said subject is
 “ one of the most important which can at
 “ this time employ the pen of the *patriot* or
 “ *scholar*, and is thus left open to all those
 “ who have had any connection with this
 “ College, either as students or graduates,
 “ it is hoped, for the honour of the Seminary,
 “ as well as their own, they will nobly exert
 “ themselves on a subject so truly animating,
 “ which may be treated in a manner alike
 “ interesting to good men, both here and in
 “ the mother country.

“ Each candidate is desired to prefix a
 “ motto, and a mark or device to his per-
 “ formance, and seal it up, without his name,
 “ in a separate cover. He is then to put his
 “ name under another sealed cover, writing
 “ on the outside of this cover the same motto
 “ and mark or device, which he has prefixed
 “ to his performance.

“ THE utmost impartiality will be ob-
 “ served by the Trustees and Professors in
 “ examining

“ examining the several performances, with-
 “ out opening any of the covers that contain
 “ the names, till it is first determined which
 “ of the performances is entitled to the
 “ Medal, and then only that cover will be
 “ opened on which the motto is written that
 “ directs to the name of the person entitled
 “ to the prize, which shall be given in pub-
 “ lic at the ensuing commencement; and
 “ therefore the several candidates are desired
 “ to send their compositions and names sealed
 “ and covered as aforesaid, to the Provost,
 “ on or before the 8th day of *May*.”---

ON the 8th day of *May* accordingly nine
 different performances were produced, on a
 careful perusal of which, the three im-
 mediately following were laid aside for a se-
 cond reading; after which the Medal was
 unanimously decreed to the first. The second
 also was judged a masterly, judicious and
 sensible performance, worthy of a Medal
 also, if there had been another, for the same
 subject; and the third was likewise greatly
 approved of as a spirited performance, so far
 as it went; and it was agreed that the pub-
 lication of both, together with the prize-
 piece,

piece, would be of service at this crisis; which determination was immediately inserted in the public papers; in pursuance whereof the modest and ingenious youth, who is author of the second Dissertation, gave leave to publish it with his name. The author of the third Dissertation, wrote, concerning his piece, that he “ had but two days to spare, “ from a particular hurry of business in his “ profession, to prepare it in; and that so far “ from thinking it disgraced by being the “ third best, he would have rejoiced, for the “ honor of the Seminary in which he received “ his first education, if all the other six had “ been superior also; and that if there were “ any observations in it which had not occurred to the other gentlemen, or were “ likely to serve as hints for abler pens to set “ so important a subject in a proper light, he “ readily consented to its publication; but “ requested, for particular reasons, that his “ name might not be annexed to it.”

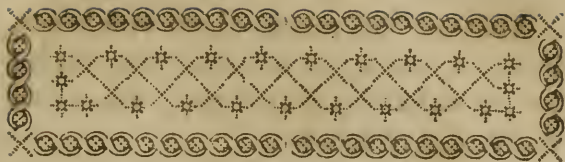
THE fourth little piece is the production of an ingenious son of the college, in his own easy unpremeditated way. He has by many compositions done honor to the place of his education;

education; and by this, which was only the sudden work of a few hours of that day, in which the other pieces were under examination, he meant not to come in competition for the prize, but only to throw his mite into the general stock. After his departure to *England*, some of his friends having desired it to be published, with the three first pieces, it was accordingly annexed; and had any of the authors of the other five remaining pieces, or their friends, made the like request, they would have been indulged in it. Indeed most of them would have well deserved to be laid before the public, had we not been afraid that the repetition of many of the same sentiments, which must unavoidably run through them all, on the same subject, would at length become tiresome to the reader.

WE have only now to mention the occasion of the following Eulogium. By your own proposal, as well as by order of the Trustees of the College, the Medal was to be conferred at a public commencement. Wherefore, at the commencement, *May* 20th, 1766, immediately after the valedic-

tory oration, the Hon. JOHN PENN, Esq; Governor of the province, as President of the Trustees of the College, delivered the *Medal* to the Provost, ordering him to confer it in public agreeable to their previous determination. The Provost accordingly acquainted the audience that the same had been decreed to JOHN MORGAN, M.D. F.R.S. &c. and professor of the theory and practice of physic in the College of *Philadelphia*; and then requested Dr. *Morgan* to deliver his Dissertation in public; which being finished, the EULOGIUM accompanied the conferring of the Medal.





A N
E U L O G I U M,

On the delivery of Mr. SARGENT's Prize-Medal at the public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May, 1766.

By WILLIAM SMITH, D. D. Provost of that College.

(Published by desire.)

S I R,

AS the reward of your great merit in this elegant performance, I am, in the name of the Trustees and Faculty of this College, as well as in behalf of the worthy Donor, to beg your acceptance of this GOLD MEDAL---Its intrinsic value may not be an object of much consideration to you; but the truly honourable circumstances, by which it now becomes yours, must render it one of the most valuable jewels in your possession.

ADORNED tho' you have been with honors in distant lands, yet we trust those will not be the least acceptable to you, which your native country bestows.

THAT the first literary prize, contended for in this Institution, should fall to the share of one of its eldest sons, who, to much genius and application, has joined much knowledge of the world, will not seem strange. Yet still, for the honor of the Seminary, and what will not derogate from your honor, it will appear that you have obtained this pre-eminence over no mean competitors.

SOME of our younger sons (among whom we ought not to omit the name of the modest and candid *WATTS, with some others even of inferior standing) have exhibited such vigorous efforts of genius, and tread so ardently on the heels of you and others their seniors, that it will require the utmost exertion of all your faculties, the continual straining of every nerve, if you would long wish to lead the way to them, in the great career of Fame.

O NOBLE

* Author of the second of the following Dissertations.

O NOBLE contest! O happy feat of Science!
 to behold such a divine emulation among thy
 sons, kindled by the ardent desire of glory,
 and supported on those liberal principles
 which true Literature alone can inspire!

MUCH do we owe to you, Gentlemen, on
 this occasion, much every way---much for the
 pains you have taken to do honor to the
 place of your education; and much for the
 public testimony you have given in its favor,
 declaring that *here* you have imbibed the true
 principles of Liberty, and have learned from
 your “early † youth that your head, your
 “heart and your hand should ever be at the
 “service of your country”---

TRUE it is, Gentlemen, that we have pub-
 lickly inculcated---and it was our duty to
 inculcate, on you, “that || if there be any
 “thing on this earth suited to the native dig-
 “nity of the human mind, and worthy of con-
 “tention,

† See Dr. Morgan's Dissertation, who was one of the
 first graduates.

|| These quotations are from a charge delivered by
 the author of this Eulogium, to the first class of gra-
 duates in the College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1757.
 Dr. Morgan was one of this class.

“tention, it must be to assert the cause of
 “Religion and Truth; to support the fun-
 “damental rights and liberties of mankind;
 “and to strive for the constitution of your
 “country, and a government by known laws,
 “freely consented to by yourselves, or your
 “certain delegates.”

WE have exhorted you, “when your
 “country calls, to be all eye and ear and
 “heart and voice and hand, in a cause so
 “glorious; proceeding with a manly and
 “intrepid spirit, with a fervent and en-
 “lightened zeal; fearless of danger, un-
 “daunted by opposition, and convincing
 “the world that Liberty is your unconquer-
 “able delight, and that you are sworn foes
 “to every species of bondage either of body
 “or of mind.”

BUT however much it might have been our
 duty to deliver lessons of this kind, small
 would have been the honour we should have
 derived from them, if you, Gentlemen had not
 nobly called those lessons forth into Action,
 demonstrating by your *living* example, that
 the education you received in this place,
 “was

“ was not a mere art of furnishing the
 “ Head, but a true discipline of the Life and
 “ Manners.”

TRULY delicate and difficult, we confess was the subject prescribed to you-----to treat of “ the reciprocal advantages of a
 “ perpetual UNION between *Great-Britain*
 “ and her *American Colonies*,” at a time when a fatal Misunderstanding had untwisted all the cords of that UNION, and the minds of many were too much inflamed. This difficulty was likewise encreased to us by other considerations.

Great-Britain, who, by her liberality, had raised this College from a helpless to a flourishing state, had an undoubted demand on us, in our particular capacity, for all the returns of gratitude. Yet we could not, we durst not, divert the streams of Learning from their sacred course. Our country, nay all *America*, had a right to demand that those streams should be directed pure along, to water the goodly TREE OF LIBERTY, nor ever be suffered to cherish any foul weed, that would choak its growth.

IN

IN this most difficult conjuncture, we rejoice to behold you, in your early youth, exercising all the temper and prudence of the most experienced Patriots; freely and dutifully acknowledging in behalf of the mother country, that, “*as the design of colonizing, “was not to found a *new* empire, but to extend the *old*, the Colonies owe obedience “under all constitutional and legal restrictions, and a due subordination in all commercial purposes;” yet firmly asserting in behalf of the Colonies that they “are “entitled, in return, to the full and free “enjoyment of BRITISH LIBERTY, and necessary protection from all external violence “----and that a policy which would ensure “a small immediate revenue, at the expence “of a great, though indirect, national gain, “is *mean* and *sordid*, unworthy of the generous enterprizing spirit of a commercial “nation;” and radically destructive of the mutual confidence.

WE rejoice that ever we had the least share in forming sentiments like these, which have led you to draw the true line, and powerfully

* See Dissertation third.

fully to shew that on the everlasting basis of *reciprocal Interest*, and a participation of *constitutional privileges*, and on this alone, our UNION shall be perpetuated, and “our *
“ bleeding wounds healed up, without so
“ much as a scar by way of remembrance.”

HERE you have shewn yourselves entitled to the name of true SONS OF LIBERTY---- SONS OF LIBERTY INDEED! neither betraying her sacred cause on the one hand, nor degenerating into *Licentiousness* on the other---

THE occasion now calls me to address a few things to you, Gentlemen, who have just received your degrees in this Seminary; but I would not trespass on the patience of this candid audience.

You have observed the honors to which literary merit, and integrity of principles, have already advanced those who have gone before you in their studies here; and you cannot but be sensible, that of all the glories reflected on this Institution, we judge those the most solid and transporting which we derive from our own sons.

C 2

THE

* See Mr. WATTS's Dissertation.

THE time is fast approaching, and I trust your bosoms now glow for it, when you too shall, in your turn, have an opportunity of doing honour to your education, by your conduct in public life. When that time shall come, educated as you have been in the principles of sound Liberty, permit us to promise ourselves, that you will ever think it your glory, to be enlisted under her banners, and to follow her exalted call.

WHAT we have often given in solemn charge to those who have gone before you, and what you have often heard delivered in the course of your studies here, is, I hope, engraven on your memories, and need not now be repeated.

You will consider all arts, all sciences, all eloquence, all philosophy, as intended to discipline the soul for eternity, and so far as they center not ultimately in this grand view, they are at best but empty trifles. Always look on the scriptures of God as that master system of knowledge, by which all other wisdom is to be regulated and perfected.

IN whatever station of life you are, we hope you never will forget your obligations to this seminary, which will travail, as it were in pain for you, till you appear on the theatre of action with dignity ; and will expect to find its own children and sons, at least, among the number of its friends----- We wish you every felicity, and bid you farewell.-----

AND here I ought to conclude----But the joyous occasion calls me to return particular thanks to this splendid audience for the countenance they have given us this day ; and to congratulate them on the glorious and happy turn in the affairs of *America*, whereof yesterday † gave us the certain and confirmed accounts.

WHEN I look back on the dreadful state of suspense, in which these Colonies have been so long agitated ; when, in the room of foreboding doubt and painful solicitude, I behold joy in every look, the clouds dispersed, the sun breaking in upon us again, and

c

an

† The account of the repeal of the *American* stamp-act was received at *Philadelphia*, the day before the delivery of this Elogium, viz. May 19, 1766.

an assembly around me in which every man, rejoices to salute his neighbour as Free-----I *Feel*, I *Feel*, a sympathy unutterable, and an exultation of soul never felt before !

O GLORIOUS day ! O happy *America* ! if now we but know how to prize our happiness----The unguarded fallies of intemperate zeal will soon be forgotten ; but the stedfast, the noble, the patriotic efforts of cool and good men, in the vindication of native and constitutional rights, will more and more claim the regard of all the Free, in every clime and age ; and perhaps be consecrated by time into one of the brightest transactions of our story ; asserting our pedigree, and shewing that we were worthy of having been descended from the illustrious stock of *Britons* !

THE cause of Liberty, Civil and Religious, is the cause of *Britain* herself----nay it is the cause of heaven ; and it was with inexpressible satisfaction that I beheld more than one of the gentlemen, who have written on the ties of UNION between *Great-Britain* and her colonies, deriving a very capital argument from the ties of a Common Religion.

WHEN

WHEN I review the history of the world, and look on the progress of Knowledge, Freedom, Arts and Sciences, I cannot but be strongly persuaded that Heaven has yet glorious purposes to serve thro' *America*.

CIVIL Liberty, the Protestant Religion, the principles of Toleration, in their purity, honorable as they are to human nature, subsist but in few places of the globe; and *Great-Britain* is their principal residence.

UNDER her auspices they were transplanted into *America*; where they have got firm root, and are flourishing into immense growth and will bring such an accession of strength to the general cause of Liberty and Protestantism, that we trust no power on earth shall ever be able to prevail against their united strength.

THIS sentiment, it is hoped, will more and more gain ground among good men both here and in the mother country; convincing them that to check the spirit of Freedom, or discourage the propagation of knowledge here in *America*, would, on the part of *Great-Britain*,
be

be to wound her own members, and weaken or destroy that glorious public system of Truth, Freedom and Happiness, whereof she is the Guardian and the head !

ANIMATED by these principles, and guided by an enlightened zeal, it will become us to manifest our gratitude and love to the mother country, by every means in our power. Let us make our moderation known to all the world ; bending our whole thoughts to a virtuous industry, beneficial to ourselves and to *Great Britain* ; acting “ as Free, but “ not using our liberty as a cloak of maliciousness” or of Licentiousness.





DISSERTATION

ON THE

Reciprocal ADVANTAGES

OF A

Perpetual UNION

Between *GREAT-BRITAIN*

And her *AMERICAN COLONIES*,

FOR WHICH

Mr. SARGENT'S PRIZE-MEDAL

WAS ADJUDGED TO

JOHN MORGAN, M. D. F. R. S. &c.

and Professor of the Theory and Practice
of Physic in the College of Philadelphia.



T O

JOHN SARGENT, Esq;
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, &c.

THIS ESSAY,

AS A SMALL TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE
FOR MANY PERSONAL FAVOURS RECEIVED,
AND FROM A DUE SENSE

OF HIS

ACCURATE JUDGMENT AND PUBLIC SPIRIT,
MANIFESTED

AS WELL IN THE CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT
FOR THE FOLLOWING PERFORMANCE,

AS IN THE POLITE AND GENEROUS MANNER
IN WHICH HE PROPOSED IT,

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MUCH OBLIGED,

MOST OBEDIENT,

AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN MORGAN.



DISSERTATION I.

On the reciprocal ADVANTAGES
OF A
PERPETUAL UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT-BRITAIN
AND
Her AMERICAN COLONIES.

NEVER hath the cause of Liberty Introduction.
employed the pen of any of her
votaries upon a subject of greater
importance to *Britain* and her Co-
lonies, than the *reciprocal advantages* of which
a perpetual UNION between them must
necessarily be productive. To investigate
these advantages, and to place them in a clear
and conspicuous point of view, requires much
skill and ingenuity, and affords ample scope
for a vigorous exertion of the brightest genius,
assisted and improved by the most extensive
literature. A competent knowledge of the
great and fundamental principles of govern-
ment

ment, of the nature of the *British* constitution, the particular rights and privileges of the several Colonies, together with the history of their produce, trade and commerce, is indispensably necessary to such an undertaking.

Motives for
this undertak-
ing.

UNEQUAL as I am to the arduous task, and trembling, lest the subject should suffer under my unpractised hand, I have been almost tempted to decline it; but when I consider myself at once as a *Briton* and an *American*, and reflect upon the invaluable privileges and benefits, to which, in both these characters and capacities, I am so happy as to be entitled, every apprehension vanishes; an honest confidence takes place, and I venture to deliver my sentiments, rude and unpolished as they are, upon this interesting theme, depending for success upon that love of liberty, and that warm zeal for my country's welfare, with which my bosom does, and, I trust, will always glow. 'Tis this alone gives me reason to hope for that candour from my dear countrymen, to which I am well convinced my poor abilities can lay no claim.

Further mo-
tive.

BUT I have an additional incentive to this undertaking: for I am called to it, as the son
of

of an Institution, wherein I imbibed the true principles of Liberty, and was taught to admire the beauty and excellency of that civil constitution, in which the governing powers mutually controul, and are controuled by each other, in which the rights of prince and people are accurately discriminated, and liberty and property effectually secured by a government of laws, not of men; in which civil and religious rights and privileges are held sacred and inviolable, and declared to be no less the birth-right of the meanest subject, in the most distant and obscure corner of the realm, than of the highest courtier that basks in the sun-shine of royal favour.

THIS *British American* feminary, which was founded upon these principles, and is careful to transmit them pure and uncorrupted to all her children, is justly intituled to a greater tribute from me than I have it in my power to pay. She has often inculcated this lesson upon my youth, "That my head, my hand and my heart should be at the service of my country." My head and my hand perhaps may fail of rendering her such assistances as she receives from better heads and abler hands:

hands : but the present occasion will, at least, enable me to shew, that I have an heart as deeply interested in my country's welfare, as any of her sons. 'Tis upon this principle alone, that I stand a candidate for the honours which are now proposed "to the best dissertation on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual Union between *Great-Britain* and her colonies."

The plan of treating the subject.

IN treating of this important subject, was I to enter upon a full and compleat enumeration of all these advantages, I should doubtless exceed the limits usually prescribed to performances of this nature. The principal arguments that I shall advance in favour of this perpetual union, shall be derived from one or other of these two sources.

First, From a consideration of the nature and extent of the Commerce that subsists between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, and the amazing increase of riches and power which they reciprocally derive from that Commerce.

Secondly, From the glorious prospect of the advancement of the Protestant Religion, which

which they profess, and spreading the Gospel in its purity, through the vast benighted regions of this western world.

BUT a full discussion of the several arguments to be drawn even from these two sources, would require a volume, instead of a short dissertation. I shall therefore confine myself chiefly to those which may be drawn from the first source, and only touch upon the second, in the close of the performance.

IN the first place then, if we do but take a general view of the present flourishing condition of the Colonies, and reflect upon the very small beginnings from which they have rose, in so short a time, to such a height as now renders them the richest jewel in the crown of *Britain*; if we consider the figure that *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina* make at this day, compared with the state of these countries in the hands of their original proprietors; if we attend a little to the amazing increase of their inhabitants, their products and exports, the prodigious quantities of manufactures they take off from

A general
view of the
present state
of the colonies

from *England*, and the ballance of trade which she obtains from their commodities, the shipping this commerce requires, the seamen it raises, the mouths it feeds, the hands it employs, and the accumulated wealth which it brings to thousands, nay millions of subjects, we cannot but be fully convinced of the vast importance and advantage of a perpetual Union between *Great-Britain* and her *American* colonies,

Their great
improvement.

CAN the warmest imagination form to itself an idea of aught more sublime and delightful, than those happy effects which commerce, and the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, have so suddenly produced in countries, which were not long since the dreary haunts of savage beasts and savage men. Where ignorance and barbarity frowned over the uncultivated earth, gay fields now smile, bedecked in the yellow robe of full-eared harvest; cities rise majestic to the view; fleets too croud the capacious harbour with their swelling canvas, and swarms of cheartul inhabitants cover the shore with monuments of their industry, through a long tract of two thousand miles.

From

FROM this general view of the amazing increase of our *American* Colonies, I naturally proceed to a particular detail of the advantages which are derived from them to the mother country.

A detail of the subject.

CERTAIN it is, that nothing can contribute more to the flourishing state of any trading nation, than the establishing of settlements in foreign parts. Experience evinces the truth of this. Their *American* plantations heretofore rendered the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* rich and powerful; and these are now, not only the greatest and constant, but almost the only source of their wealth. Nor have either the *French* or *Dutch* been inattentive to this important object. Witness the settlements of the latter in the *East-Indies*, which, by their application to commerce, under the blessings of a moderate government, in a few score years, *from the low and distressed states of Holland, rendered them high and mighty*. Witness the efforts which *France* made the last war for the conquest of *America*, a prize worthy to be contended for by the most powerful nations. The city of *Tyre*, “whose merchants were as princes, and her great men the

Advantages of planting colonies.

the honourable of the earth," was, like *Great-Britain*, situated upon an island, and like *Great-Britain*, maintained the dominion of the sea by her commerce. The principal seat of her trade, and great source of her wealth, was the noble colony of *Carthage*, which she founded; the power and naval strength of which was carried to such a height, by means of commerce, that forty years were spent by the *Romans*, before they were able to subdue this mighty people. †

Particularly to
Great-Britain.

To a nation situated on an island, as *Great-Britain* is, accommodated with every convenience for trade, the establishing of foreign plantations to promote her commerce is particularly beneficial, since the inhabitants have no other way of conveying abroad their product and manufactures but by navigation, which breeds seamen, and brings in wealth to maintain them. This renders *England* considerable by her fleets, respected by her allies, and the scourge of her enemies. Such hands therefore as are employed for those useful purposes, deserve all kind of encouragement, for on the pillars of her commerce depend the safety and strength of *England*.

ONE

ONE of the most considerable advantages therefore, which *Great-Britain* derives from her *American* colonies, arises from their supplying her with commodities of her own, whereby a vast treasure is saved to the nation, which would otherwise be spent in foreign Kingdoms.

One of the most
considerable.

IN *North-America*, we have almost every kind of climate as well as soil, to the extent of seven hundred leagues or upwards, on the sea-coast, from *North* to *South*. These lands are capable of the greatest improvement by cultivation. They yield some of the most valuable commodities for trade, and such as are in the highest demand in other countries, such as cotton, silk, indigo, rice, and great quantities of all kinds of corn of the best quality; and the number of commodities might be easily augmented. Vines are natural to many parts of the country; a variety of medicinal drugs, gums and plants, is not wanting; flax for linen, and hemp for cordage, are brought here to very great perfection; the woods yield materials for ships, houses and cabinet work; the pine trees will furnish a plenty of masts and yards, with pitch, turpentine, tar and rosin. The woods

Natural ad-
vantages of
America.

also abound in game; furs, and all sorts of peltry are furnished from hence. In the bowels of the earth there are mines of iron, copper and coal, in great abundance; there are various sorts of useful earths for bricks and tiles, and a variety of useful stones for building. Lastly, *North America* has spacious and safe harbours for shipping; and navigable rivers variously intersect the country, to facilitate the communication from one part to the other.

Its conveniences for settling of colonies.

Now if the planting of colonies is so beneficial to a commercial people; if these are more especially advantageous to an island, surrounded with ports, and where every inlet may prove a convenient harbour; and if a country abounding with useful commodities, blessed with a fertile soil, and a variety of healthy climates, is particularly calculated for the planting, growth and increase of colonies, we may readily conclude that the settlement of the *British American* colonies must have proved of the utmost advantage to *Great-Britain*. Nor is such a conclusion void of foundation, as we shall be fully convinced, by
comparing

comparing the present condition of *England* with what it was, whilst yet she had no plantations.

BEFORE that period, it is computed that the people of *London* did not exceed one sixth part of their present number. *England* was then obliged to pay to foreigners for all the commodities she now gets from *America*, at a most exorbitant price, and now exports those very goods to the very same nations from which she was wont to get them. It is ingeniously observed by an able pen, that rum, sugar and tobacco, if we had no plantations, would prove so many issues to drain us of our circulating cash, which are now the sources of private wealth and the public revenue.

Condition of
England before
she had any co-
lonies.

AT the time when queen *Elizabeth* entered upon her government, the customs produced but thirty-six thousand pounds a year, a sum far less than what one of her colonies now brings into the treasury. The legal interest of money was then at 12 *per cent*. It is now but 5, and *England* abounds in riches. Her shipping too is increased to the most astonishing degree. In the year 1575, queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the whole royal navy consisted but

In queen *Eli-
zabeth*'s reign.

twenty-four ships, and all the shipping then in *England*, both great and small, fell short of eight hundred sail; a number not equal to half the vessels which are employed at this time to carry on the commerce of *America*. According to an abstract made about thirty years ago,* the royal navy consisted of three hundred and twenty-two sail, carrying twelve thousand two hundred and seventy pieces of cannon; and since that time has been continually increasing. If the whole royal navy had been in commission at the end of the last war, and manned to its full compliment, it could not have amounted to much less than one hundred thousand seamen.

The colonies are useful in taking off the manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

ALTHOUGH the manufactures of *England* are, within a very few years, prodigiously augmented, the plantations alone take off near one half. By their consumption of *English* manufactures, great are the advantages which redound to *Great-Britain* from her empire in *America*. The plantation trade is by far the most valuable of any whereof *England* can boast the enjoyment. What we may place great stress upon, it is continually improving.
It

* See the Preceptor on Trade and Commerce, Vol. 2.

It is a mine in which we still find richer and nobler veins. Whilst other springs of commerce are drying up, this overflows. It is permanent, whilst others are shifting place. What crowns its value, it is our own, in which other nations cannot rival *England*, nor can they deprive her of it.

GREAT as the present product of our trade is, it might be made much more beneficial, as it is computed by intelligent writers, that above a million annually might be saved or added to the stock, by a proper encouragement of many articles that might be raised in *America*. By the purchase of them abroad, we contribute to enrich other nations, who extort very exorbitant sums from us, and who have it in their power to disappoint us of them, perhaps, when they become most necessary to us.

The *American* trade may be rendered still more beneficial

SEEING then, from the preceeding account of the colonies, *England* may be supplied from thence with some of the most valuable commodities, such as raw silk from *Georgia*, for her own manufactures; hemp for cordage, iron for various arts, a great abundance of naval stores of all kinds from *Pennsylvania*, *Carolina*,

It is impolitic to import *American* commodities from other nations.

Carolina, New Jersey, New-York, and New-England, as planks, timber, masts, yards, and all materials for ship-building, it is a reflection on our politics to expend our money with other nations for these articles. For hemp, indeed, exported from the plantations a bounty has lately been allowed by parliament, from which *England* will unquestionably derive great benefit to herself. The same encouragement will produce the same good effect in regard to iron and potashes. A bounty allowed on these articles, though inconsiderable, must soon be reimbursed manifold, by saving vast sums of money yearly remitted to foreigners for these commodities.

Pitch, tar and turpentine.

THE bounty allowed upon pitch, tar and turpentine, has brought the price of these commodities in *England* to ten shillings sterling a barrel, which used to amount to fifty shillings; for which too was paid ready money. This regulation therefore prevents five times the sum of its cost from going out of the kingdom to *Sweden* and other northern powers, and aids the colonies to make returns for the immense quantity of goods sent to them from *England*.

England. The above articles now come so cheap to the ship-builders of *Great-Britain*, that the charge is hardly felt by them; and the bounty that is paid by the nation on the importation of those commodities, is doubly repaid by lessening the proportion between the importation and exportation that was against us in these articles, which is called the ballance of trade.† “It is agreed by all who pretend to understand trade, says judge *Littleton*, that a country does then grow rich, and then only, when the commodities exported out of it are of more value than those that are imported into it.”‡ It is but wisdom therefore in *Britain* to encourage the raising of every commodity in *America*, of which she stands in need herself, or which may increase the ballance of trade in her favour.

Ballance of
trade, what.

AND here we may properly take notice of the considerable advantages derived from an interchange of manufactures and commodities between *Great-Britain* and *America*. The labour that is necessary in manufactures, the
expensive

Benefits of an
interchange of
manufactures
and commodities.

† Introduction to the *British Empire in America*.

‡ Judge *Littleton's Treatise on the Grievances of the Plantations*.

expensive carriage and different hands they pass through, must greatly heighten their value. Whilst commodities generally employ but one set of people, manufactures employ many. They afford a subsistence to the poor, collect people into villages, extend the buildings of towns and cities, improve the soil, enhance the property of landlords, and create a considerable intercourse between artificers and merchants. The consumers of *English* woolen manufactures in *America*, are obliged to pay about 75 *per cent.* advance on the first cost, by way of profit to the different hands, which these manufactures pass thro' before they arrive to them, viz. To the wool-stapler, the clothier, the woolen draper, the merchants in *England* and *America*, for freight and insurance, and to the retailer. This calculation is made by an ingenious and intelligent merchant of *Philadelphia*, well versed in this subject. Whence it appears, that manufacturers are not more valuable in themselves, than from the number of persons they support.

Value of the
manufactures
from the hands
they pass thro'.

The export of
American com-
modities re-
commended.

HENCE it follows likewise, that while *Great-Britain* is employed in manufactures,
America

America ought to be encouraged in raising all sorts of commodities, and exporting them to *Britain*. By which means the mother country will be supplied with materials for carrying on her manufactures, and the Colonies be enabled to purchase those manufactures of which they stand in need; and thus they will become reciprocally necessary to each other.

It is judged, that the whole trade of *America* to all parts of the globe employs, one year with another, above two thousand sail of *English* ships, by which treasures of greater wealth are conveyed to *Britain*, than are derived from *Mexico* or *Peru*. The amount of the cash and bills of exchange, and of the commodities sent to *England* in payment for her goods, and of the duties on these commodities, cannot be less than two millions yearly. From the commodities of *America*, chiefly manufactured in *England*, and conveyed through innumerable channels of trade to every quarter of the globe, *Great-Britain* acquires immense wealth, keeps up a spirit of industry among her inhabitants, and is enabled to support mighty fleets, great in peace and formidable in war.

The trade of
America with
England

The *American* Colonies advantageous to *Britain* in time of war.

BUT further, the *American* Colonies are not only very beneficial to the trade of *Britain* in time of peace, but are highly advantageous to her in case of war with *France* or *Spain*, the most common and natural enemies of *Britain*. The very situation of the *British* islands in *America* renders it easy to annoy those of the *French* or *Spaniards*. The continental Colonies too, on an emergency, are able to furnish many thousand brave men, who, when joined by any body of regular forces from *England*, and convoyed by a *British* squadron, would effectually shake the *French* and *Spanish* dominions, both in *North* and *South-America*. This has been done, and may be done again, when any future provocation calls them to unite their force with that of *Britain* against their common enemy. Thus it appears, I think, with the highest degree of evidence, that *Britain* owes much of her well-being, her riches and her power, to her *American* colonies. 'Tis from her union with them she draws the sinews of war, whereby she is enabled to conquer and prescribe terms of peace to her enemies, and to fix her glory upon a sure and lasting basis.

BUT

BUT if, from what has been said, it appears to be the interest of *Britain* to perpetuate her union with her Colonies in *America*, it will appear no less manifest, by the sequel, that it is the interest of those Colonies to perpetuate their union with *Britain*.

It is the interest of the *American Colonies* to perpetuate their union with *Great-Britain*.

THE *American Colonies*, by the support and commerce of *Britain*, have emerged, as it were, out of darkness into light, and in less than two centuries have become a numerous and happy people. Between two and three millions, at least, of subjects, by transplantation from *Europe*, and by natural increase, now inhabit these colonies. For this increase of numbers, wealth and power, they are indebted originally to *Britain*, from whence they derived their mild government, their equal laws and secure property. Must they not then naturally desire a perpetual union with their mother country, whilst they taste the sweets of *British* liberty, and enjoy the advantages of her trade and commerce.

Proved from the support & commerce of *England*.

AND this leads me to mention another reason why the Colonies should wish to perpetuate their union with *Britain*, viz. the considerable benefit which they derive from the *British* manufactures. The price of labour

The demand for *British* manufactures.

in *America* is too great to allow the inhabitants to manufacture for themselves. They supply all their wants from *Britain*, and are enabled to make good remittances by their commodities, which might otherwise lie useless on their hands.

And the advantageous alliance of *America* with *Great-Britain*.

AGAIN, were the *American* colonies to be considered as having no union or connection with *Britain*, what power could secure them from her conquering arm, whenever she was disposed to stretch it forth? But while the Union is perpetuated between them, and the colonies are considered as a part of the *British* empire, *Britain* surely, by her formidable fleets, and brave and disciplined armies, could afford them speedy succour in the day of danger, and effectually secure them from the hostile attempts of any power in *Europe*. I ask once more then, must not the colonies naturally desire a perpetual union with their mother country, since it is from her they enjoy the sweets of *British* liberty, the advantages of *British* commerce, and the protection of *British* power?

An erroneous principle considered.

I HAVE said the less of the importance of *Great-Britain* to the *American* Colonies, because
cause

cause this is a subject, upon which every writer seems to be agreed; whereas there have been some narrow, short-sighted politicians, who have attempted to diminish the importance of the colonies to *Great-Britain*. 'Tis for this reason, that I have entered upon a more minute detail of the latter, and have moreover subjoined to the end of this dissertation, an Appendix, containing a summary view of the *American* commerce, the produce and exports of the several colonies, whereby the national stock is to considerably augmented.

Thus have I endeavoured to point out the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, from a particular view of the nature and extent of the commerce that subsists between them, and the vast accessions of wealth and power which they reciprocally derive from that commerce. I have shewn how necessary they are to one another, and that they must suffer and decline in proportion as the present union betwixt them is weakened or destroyed. I have only to add further, under this head, a few observations upon the most probable methods of preserving and perpetuating this union.

Conclusions to
be drawn from
this view of
commerce.

WITH

The surest means of preserving this union considered on the part of *Great-Britain*.

WITH respect to *Great-Britain*, I think, the surest method she can take to preserve this union inviolate is to consider the interests of *America* as her own, to encourage the willing obedience of a dutiful and loyal people, by equal laws and a free and open commerce, rather than attempt, by unequal laws and too severe restrictions, to force an unwilling subjection. The ballance of trade will return more clear money from the *American* Colonies, than can be extorted from them either by armies, taxes or tribute. "It is more safe, as well as virtuous, to accept the chaste embraces of conjugal affection, than by violence to extort forbidden pleasures, which commonly fail the expectations."||

Impolitic restrictions of trade.

It is an ill-judged policy, therefore, which would prevent the Colonies from enriching themselves by trade at the expence of their neighbours. For these are only the channels through which the riches of foreign nations are poured into the coffers of *Britain*. And if these channels are once dried up, the watchful enemies and rivals of *Britain* would soon avail themselves of our errors. Commerce, once forced from her wonted course, is
feldom

feldom or never brought into it again. Foreigners would soon usurp our trade, and thrive in proportion as we decline.

To secure the liberty and property of all its subjects is, or ought to be, the end of every government. So long as this end is kept in view, so long are the people united by the firmest bond of society, the interest of the whole. This end must be the common standard, by which the particular actions of the several members towards each other ought to be regulated. Particular ranks of men have particular feelings peculiar to themselves, and often contrary to the interests and feelings of the rest of the society, and therefore have no right to make, and much less to impose laws on their fellow-subjects, inconsistent with and opposite to those interests and those feelings; therefore a society, government or real public, must consist of freemen, choosing or consenting to laws themselves. "To watch over such a system, and to promote its good as much as lies in our power, to resist every encroachment on it, and to defend it to the utmost, is the political duty of every citizen."† But to

What is, or ought to be the end of government,

and common standard of action.

† See Preceptor, Vol. 2, on Ethics.

to sacrifice the interests of one part to those of another part weakens the affection of subjects, inasmuch as the preservation of our rights, the security of our persons, liberties and property, on the one hand, and obedience to government, on the other hand, are the reciprocal duties of the rulers and ruled.

viz. The general interest of the whole community.

If the superstructure of a government be raised on any other foundation than the general interest of the whole community, it can not be durable. Like the image of *Daniel's* vision, the head whereof was of fine gold, the belly and thighs of brass the legs of iron, and the feet part of iron and part of clay, which cannot cleave together, it must, when smote upon, be broken to pieces. But the constitution of a country, in which the happiness of the whole community is regarded, is like a firm oak that withstands the fury of the jarring elements roused up into a storm, fixes its roots deeper in its native earth, and lifts its majestic head to the skies. Whilst this principle is kept up in its full vigour, it will endure the shocks of contending nations, and be still more firmly established. It will yield to nought but time, before which the "Sun himself shall fail, and nature sink in years."

WHEN

WHEN the public is safe and trade encouraged, every man participates of the common felicity, and has means of acquiring property. The riches of a good King consist in the wealth of his subjects. The affections of his people are his security and happiness. All they possess, their fortune and property, are at his disposal, because they are employed to secure both him and themselves. A wise government ought therefore to secure the possession of property, and raise no taxes but what they shall see a real necessity for doing, and continue them no longer than that necessity requires. It should be done in a manner most agreeable to the sentiments of the people, who best know what they can endure; for a virtuous and public spirit, a spirit of Liberty, is the chief, if not the only support of a country.†

Which is the happiness and support of a country.

SHOULD any ignorant or selfish politicians in the mother country ever have influence enough to get such laws enacted, as would bear hard upon the liberty or property of the Colonies; this measure would doubtless have a natural tendency to sow the seeds of dis-

An opposite conduct in what respect pernicious.

D

content

† See *Cato's* letters on the subject of Liberty.

content among them, and to alienate their affections. Instead of considering *Britain* then as connected with them by the natural ties of a mother country, they would begin to look upon her as a foreign power, treating them as her tributaries, and attempting to enslave them. For the same noble spirit of freedom, which actuates an *Englishman*, born in the island of *Britain*, beats in every pulse and pants in every breast of the *British* subjects in *America*. Add to this, the Colonies were settled upon a presumption, that the same extensive privileges, which were originally granted to them, should not in after-times be contracted or withdrawn. When *Great-Britain* has attained to such a pitch of grandeur by the industry and success of her Colonies, as hath rendered her the admiration and envy of her neighbours, would it be consistent with the maxims of justice, for her to resume the privileges she has granted, under which they have so amazingly flourished, and which they have never forfeited? No, the rights of *Americans* are established on the same foundation with those of *Britain* herself. She cannot violate them, without, at the same time, undermining her own constitution; and the

the same sword that is sheathed in the bowels of *America* must inevitably pierce the vitals of *Britain* too. Far other returns, however, may be hoped for by a people, whose commerce has proved so beneficial to *Britain*; who have, at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, assisted her in gaining a compleat ascendancy over their common enemy. They are a people too, who contributed much by their bravery, in a former war, to procure an honourable and unlooked for peace to their mother country, when she was of herself in no condition to prescribe her own terms.*

Thus it appears, that the most effectual method, which *Great Britain* can take to perpetuate her union with the Colonies, is to continue them in the full exercise of those liberties and privileges, both with respect to commerce and taxes, which they have hitherto enjoyed; and to do nothing that can justly

A violation of the *American* rights impolitic.

D 2

be

* The island of *Cape-Breton*, which was esteemed the *Dunkirk* of *America*, was taken by the troops of *New-England*, with little or no assistance from home; and this was all the *English* had to restore to *France* at the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, 1748 for the restitution of *Bergen op-zoom* to her allies, and for other terms of peace.

be looked upon as a violation of their rights, which might end in a breach of this desirable union.

The method
by which the
Colonies may
preserve the
present union.

WITH respect to the Colonies, the surest method they can take to preserve inviolate their union with *Britain* is, upon every occasion, to demonstrate their loyalty to the best of Kings, and their subordination to the government of *Great Britain*, by exerting their united efforts, in the support and defence of the dignity of the *British* crown, and the rights of the *British* parliament; and by cheerfully and constantly submitting to the just determination of the grand council of the realm. A conduct opposite to this would make them forfeit the rights of sons, and justly bring upon them the indignation and chastisement of the mother country.

The effects of
such a conduct

THESE are the methods, which to me appear most likely to perpetuate the glorious union between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, which will ensure strength and success to the common cause, and baffle every attempt of their enemies to injure or molest them. Thus will the commerce, riches and power of *Britain*, be carried to an envied pitch

pitch of greatness, and as far surpass what they now are, as they do at this day exceed what they were, before *Great-Britain* could boast of a colony.

I HAVE enlarged so much upon the advantages of a perpetual union between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, collected from a view of the nature and extent of the commerce that subsists between them, and the immense accession of riches and power, which they reciprocally enjoy from that commerce, that I can now say but little of the glorious prospect, which this union presents to us, in the promotion of the Protestant Religion, which they profess, and extending the Gospel in its purity, throughout the vast benighted regions of the western world.

Benefits of this union to Religion and the Protestant interest.

THIS consideration is indeed as far superior to that which I have hitherto dwelt upon, as things eternal are to those of a mere temporal nature. One relates to the greatest of this world's good, even liberty and property. The other extends to a future and eternal world; and is employed upon such objects as are most likely to secure the happy enjoyment of it. 'Tis the glory of *Britain*, that she enjoys both these advantages in the highest degree;

Superior to that of mere commerce, &c.

gree; that the means of preserving the former is secured to her by the best *civil* constitution, and the means of obtaining the latter by the best *religious* establishment in the world.

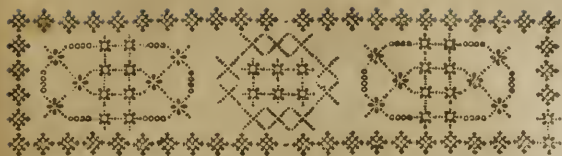
By the spreading of the Gospel.

WITH the sons of *Britain* the Protestant religion was transplanted into the Colonies. It has taken root, grown and flourished in the kindly soil. It has already become a fair and lofty tree, and, if it is still well nurtured and sufficiently watered, it may e'er long extend its boughs beyond the setting sun, even to the verge of the eastern world, and perhaps shelter the native country from whence it originally sprung. Thus *Britain* has already been an happy instrument in the hands of Heaven, of bearing the tidings of the Gospel to one of the darkest corners of the globe, to nations, who had long sat in darkness and the shadow of death. By perpetuating an union with her Colonies, she may likewise, through them, carry these glad tidings further still, even to the utmost ends of the earth, and thus hasten, if I may so speak, that glorious period, when "righteousness shall overflow the earth as the waters cover the seas." And when all the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ.

If

If such, then, are to be the happy consequences of this glorious union, should not every *American*, every *British* Protestant, ardently wish and pray, that it may be faithfully and inviolably preserved and continued “as long as the Sun and Moon endure?”





A P P E N D I X.

Containing a general view of the trade of the American Colonies, their produce, exports, &c. chiefly extracted from approved histories and authentic memoirs.

IN this Appendix, to observe some order, I shall begin with an account of the *British* settlements to the *Northward*; and first with *Newfoundland*. This great island, which is above three hundred miles long and two hundred broad, forms the *Eastern* boundary of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and extends from thence *Southward* near ten degrees of latitude, along the *Eastward* part of *Nova-Scotia*. It is chiefly valuable for the great Fishery upon those shoals, which are called the Banks of *Newfoundland*. The plenty of Cod, and several other species of Fish here, is almost inconceivable, as well as along the shores of the island of *Cape-Breton*, the coasts *Nova-Scotia* and *New-England*, which pours in

Newfoundland,
its Fishery.

E

a treasure

a treasure of riches on *Great-Britain*. Our share of the *Newfoundland* fishery was formerly computed to increase the national stock at least three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year in gold and silver, remitted for the Cod we sell in the different parts of *Europe*, in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy* and the *Levant*, &c.† of how much more wealth must it be productive at present to the mother country, as *Newfoundland* and *Nova-Scotia* belong now so entirely to *Great-Britain*? The advantages which attend an extensive and well-managed fishery are great and obvious. The sea may be considered as a mine out of which the treasure is taken at a very little expence, and even that expence is advantageous, since it promotes several manufactures, and goes entirely amongst our own people. Fish is a valuable commodity, both at home and abroad. According to some writers, the *Dutch* make more of their fishery in our seas, than the *Spaniards* do by the *West-Indies*. Besides, this fishery, properly attended to, would infallibly furnish us with a constant supply of experienced, active and healthy sailors

† See Account of *European settlements in America*, by *Dodley*.

sailors for manning our fleets; the gradual increase of which would prove not only a constant and inexhaustible source of wealth, and add to the ballance of trade in our favour, but augment our maritime force, to a degree that would make us a match for all *Europe* in naval power.†

ADJACENT to *Newfoundland* is the country *Nova-Scotia*. of *Nova-Scotia*, which, although the progress of it was at first but slow, is now become a considerable settlement, and is a very advantageous place for fishing. Twenty-five thousand quintals of fish have been caught there in one year.||

BUT much more considerable is the colony *New-England*. of *New-England*. This colony is in length near three hundred miles, and in some part near two hundred miles in breadth, lying between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of *North* latitude, and comprizes the four provinces of *Massachusetts-Bay*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Island* and *New-Hampshire*.

THERE is a noble Cod-fishery on this coast, which employs a vast number of their people, *Its Fishery*.
E 2 and

† Preceptor.

|| *British Empire in America*.

and proves a very considerable article of trade. They are enabled by this to export annually above thirty thousand quintals of choice Cod-fish to *Spain, Italy* and the *Mediterranean*, and near twenty thousand quintals of the refuse sort to the *West-Indies*, as food for the *Negroes*, besides a large quantity to *Madeira* and *Fyal*, for wines and brandy.

Its Trade.

THE business of ship-building is one of the most considerable which *Boston*, or the other sea-port towns in *New-England* carry on. This country has materials enough to build ships for half the employment of *Britain*. It can furnish the trade and navy too with naval stores, for the supplies of which from the *Baltic*, two or three hundred thousand pounds sterling annually was wont to be expended. In their trade to foreign parts, the profits of their voyage are generally received in bills of exchange upon *London*, or in returns of goods through the hands of *English* factors. By this circuitous commerce, they pay in *Great-Britain* for various sorts of goods got from thence, to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. Although their commerce is not carried on immediately with
Great-

Great-Britain, nor with *British* vessels, yet here the profits chiefly center, where all the money, which the Colonies, can make in any manner, must center at last. Pot-ashes, a most necessary article in manufactures, particularly in bleaching, as many thousand barrels are annually consumed for this one purpose in *Ireland*, have, within these few years, proved a very advantageous article of trade in several of the Colonies, particularly in *New-England*, and is likely to become a very valuable and growing remittance to the mother country. The amount of the pot-ashes exported home from *New-England* only, within the last twelve months, is said to be not less than thirty thousand pounds sterling; and it is imagined that the quantity this year will arise to a much more considerable sum. The spirit of gain which the making of pot-ashes has already inspired, it is probable, will every year continue to render this manufacture an object of much greater importance to *America* than has been generally imagined. Near six hundred sail of ships have been laden in a year for *Europe* and the *British* plantations. From Christmas 1747, to Christmas 1748, five hundred vessels cleared out from the port of *Boston* only, for
a foreign

a foreign trade, and four hundred and thirty were entered inwards. Great is the advantage therefore of the *New-England* trade and navigation, if only considered as a nursery of seamen; how much more by considering the addition it makes to the national stock?†

New-York,
New-Jersey,
and *Pennsylvania,*
their trade

THE three contiguous provinces, *viz. New-York, New-Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*, to the *Southward* of *New-England*, are with very little difference the same in their climate, productions, and the commodities in which they trade; the soil being in general very fertile, abounding not only in its native grain, the *Indian* corn, but few parts of the world exceed these provinces in the abundance and excellence of their *Wheat, Barley, Rye, Oats, Buck-wheat, &c.*

GREAT quantities of *Flax* and *Hemp* are raised in these provinces. Mines of *iron* have been opened in them all, and a rich mine of *copper* has been successfully worked in *East-Jersey*, which may prove highly advantageous to the manufactures of *Great-Britain*. The trade of these provinces to the *West-Indies* is very considerable

† History of the *British* Empire in *America*.

considerable in Provisions, Hides, Tallow, Lumber and Soap, &c. for which they can procure Sugars, and from this find some resource of making remittance to *England* for the goods they get from thence. They carry on a trade also with *Spain, Portugal, Italy, Madeira* and *Fyal*; they trade likewise to *England* and *Ireland* in Hemp, Flax-seed, Linseed Oil, Furs, and Deer-skins. Flaxseed is a very promising article of Commerce; as *Ireland* must be dependant on the *American Colonies* for an annual supply. In times of scarcity, prodigious quantities of wheat are shipped to *England* and *Ireland*, as well as to other parts of *Europe*. Thus the *Americans* send home to their fellow-subjects of *Great-Britain*, both goods to increase the national stock, and also bread for their subsistence. § The importations from *England* into the province of *Pennsylvania* only, it is estimated, hath in several years amounted to more than half a million sterling *per annum*. †

And

§ Amongst the several acts which passed the House of Commons, and gained his Majesty's royal assent, the last sessions of Parliament, is an Act for allowing the importation of Wheat from *America*, duty free, for a limited time.

† Memorial of the Merchants and Traders of the city of *Philadelphia*.

THERE cannot be less than seven or eight hundred sail of ships annually employed to keep up the extensive trade of these provinces.

Trade of Ma-
ryland and Vir-
ginia.

Maryland and Virginia, which are to the Southward of *Pennsylvania*, agree very much in their soil and product.

TOBACCO is the standing commodity of both these colonies. A late sensible writer computes that there are shipped from these places annually, 90,000 hogsheads of Tobacco at an average of 952 weight each; 30,000 of these are expended in home consumption, the duty of each is twenty-seven pounds sterling, and the amount of the whole duty on them is above eight hundred thousand pounds; and of the remaining 60,000 hogsheads, after the imports and part of the subsidy are drawn back, about one-fifth of the sum is produced into the Exchequer from every hogshead that is re-exported, which is above three hundred thousand pounds more. The whole amount for the customs of Tobacco is more than a million. Such is the immense advantage which

computed to be annually worth, at the lowest estimation, £. 150,000 sterling. Great has been its increase since; and we may well reckon it to be at this time worth £. 200,000 sterling.

It was long before *Carolina* went into the profitable trade of Indigo; they began it since the year 1750, and in the year 1754, was exported from *Charlestown*, to the amount of above 200,000 lb. weight; and 500,000 lb. weight was made in the year 1757. If the inhabitants continue to improve the advantages with the same spirit in which they have begun, they must naturally and necessarily come to supply the whole consumption of the world with this commodity, and consequently make their country the richest part of the *British* dominions.‡

To the *Southward* of *Carolina*, on the borders of *Florida*, was erected the province of *Georgia*, in 1732.

Georgia is of importance at present, and will be of future benefit to *England*, by raising raw Silk; the goodness of its Silk has been tried by a proper engine, and according to
Sir

‡ See Account of *European Settlements*, printed by *Dodley*.

Sir *Thomas Lombe*, is better than the finest Silk of *Piedmont*, for which half a million a year has been paid. Pot-ashes too has been imported from hence to *England*, besides Peltry, Drugs and Dyers ware of several sorts.

WE come next to the *Spanish* settlement of *St. Augustine*. *St. Augustine*, to the *Southward* of *Georgia*. It belongs now to the *English*, as well as *Canada* and *Louisiana*, by the last treaty of peace; so that they claim the whole of *North-America* upon the *Atlantic* sea.

WE shall say nothing of the newly formed Colonies in *Florida*, as being but yet in their infancy, or of the settlements in *Hudson's-Bay*, as not very considerable hitherto; but how great must be the advantage of trade with the *Indians* in *Canada* and *Louisiana*, now ceded to the *English*, which encouraged and enabled the *French* to hem in all the *English* Colonies, by a chain of forts on their back settlements, extended in a tract of above 2000 miles?||

Canada borders to the *Northward* upon the provinces of *Nova-Scotia*, *New-England* and
F 2 *New-York*.

|| See Account of the *British* Settlements in *America*, and History of the *British* empire in *America*.

New-York. It is the oldest of all the *French* establishments, and prior to the settlement of *New-England.* *Quebec* is the capital of this province. It is built on the river *St. Lawrence*, upon which are the principal settlements of this Colony. A vast trade already is, and a much greater may in time be carried on with the *Indians*, on the prodigious fresh water Lakes, of which there are five in number, in extent to be considered as so many seas. They communicate with one another, and the last of them with the river *St. Lawrence*, which effectually commands the trade of the Lakes, and has an influence upon all the nations of *Indians* which confine upon them.

Of the *West-Indies.*

THE principal produce of the *West-Indies* is Sugar. It is amazing what riches have been acquired to *England* by this commodity, and what a surprizingly great number of ships are employed in the trade, especially of *Barbados* and *Jamaica*. This last place is of great consequence to annoy the enemy, in time of war with *France* or *Spain*. No plate fleet from *Carthagena* can arrive at the *Havannah*, which is the general place of rendezvous for the Flota, without passing by one end of *Jamaica*,

maica. Whilst we continue masters of these seas, we shall always have it in our power to prevent the junction, and greatly distress them. In time of peace, the trade is of no less consequence in drawing from the *Spaniards* great sums of money.

IF the Sugar Islands are of such consequence to *England*, on account of the great trade, shipping, and number of hands employed, the persons subsisted thereby, and the customs and imposts they pay; the importance of the Colonies on the continent of *North-America* is enhanced from their supplying the *West-Indies* with Lumber and provisions of all sorts.

In whatever light we view the connection between *Great-Britain* and her *American* Colonies; the reciprocal advantages of the present union almost exceed computation, and yet fall every way far short of those immense benefits which will accrue to both, from this union being rendered firm and perpetual. Conclusion,

End of the APPENDIX.





A N
E S S A Y

On the reciprocal ADVANTAGES
OF A
PERPETUAL UNION

BETWEEN
G R E A T - B R I T A I N

A N D
Her *A M E R I C A N* Colonies.

By *S T E P H E N W A T T S*, M. A.

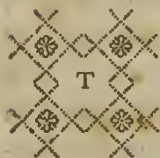


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THE author is very sensible, that it would have been proper, in composing the following Essay, to have consulted with gentlemen who reside in the several places he had occasion to speak of, and are well acquainted with the nature and extent of their commerce. Would the time, allowed for these performances, have afforded him an opportunity of procuring such information, he flatters himself his piece would have been more original, with respect to matters of trade, and more worthy of public notice. He would have been thereby enabled to form a more exact estimate of the present state of trade in Great-Britain and America. Depriv'd of this advantage, he was obliged to have recourse to commercial writers, amongst whom he is chiefly indebted to Gee and Beawes. And when it is considered, that few persons, though of far greater abilities and experience in the commercial world than the author, would be able of their own knowledge to furnish an adequate account of every material branch in the British and American trade, he cannot despair of the Reader's indulgence.



DISSERTATION II.



THE situation of *Great-Britain*, separated from the rest of the world by the surrounding ocean, and destitute of those endless resources, which an extent of continent affords its inhabitants, very early suggested to judicious and observing men, that a naval force would be the easiest and most sure means of her defence, against foreign encroachments. The great *Alfred*, of glorious and immortal memory, was fully convinced of this important truth. He knew, by sad experience, that the want of such a force had subjected the island to the insults and depredations of the *Danes*, and other *Northern* robbers. Animated with affection for his subjects, and fir'd with a just resentment of the injuries they had received, he resolved, if possible, to supply such a fatal defect. By equipping, with incredible expedition, a fleet, considerable in

G

those

those days, he rendered himself master of the sea, and freed his people from the dread of being plundered. But in a few years, this beneficial, this glorious project, unsupported by a sufficient fund, was almost entirely laid aside. The inhabitants, employed in the exercise of arms, or agriculture, and raising what was barely necessary for their own subsistence, could not possibly defray the expence of having a fleet always in readiness. The *Danes*, taking advantage of their remissness in this important affair, soon over-run and subdued the greatest part of the island; but inattentive to a lesson, which their own success might have taught them, they, in their turn, fell a prey to an inundation of *Normans*.

THUS the *British* navy, though several attempts were made to render it respectable by monarchs, who understood their own interests, continued, nevertheless, to make no great figure, till the reign of queen *Elizabeth*. Till this time also the trade of *England* was very small, and contracted within a narrow compass. It consisted chiefly in exporting Tin, Lead, Wool, and a few other articles, which served to purchase what foreign goods were wanted.

wanted. That wise queen, assisted by a wise and experienced ministry, discovered the grand secret unknown to her predecessors; they knew the advantages of a fleet, but the consequent expences they knew not how to defray. An extensive commerce was now very judiciously considered as the only source, adequate to such large and continual disbursements. This it was thought, would not only afford a supply of money, sufficient to equip and maintain a powerful navy, but would also be a school or nursery of seamen.

ON these considerations, encouragement was given to the persecuted *Walloons* to remove and settle in *England*. They very willingly embraced an opportunity of transporting themselves to a land of freedom, and brought with them the Woollen manufactory, which, favoured with the countenance and protection of a wise government, soon arrived at great perfection. In pursuance of the same plan, a trade was opened to *Turkey*, *Muscovy*, the *East-Indies*, and almost every considerable country in the known world. Under the auspices of the same queen, plantations were begun in *AMERICA*, and prosecuted

cuted with vigour. They at first met with nearly insuperable difficulties; nevertheless, by the indefatigable industry and perseverance of the planters, and the generous assistance of their mother Country, those difficulties were surmounted, and the Colonies brought to a pitch of greatness, that, considering the short time of their growth, is almost incredible.

I HAVE taken this retrospect in order to shew, that the *British* Trade, the *British* Navy, and the *British* Colonies in *America*, sprung up together. They are most nearly allied, being children of the same good policy; and it is worthy the notice and attention of every politician, who studies to promote his country's welfare, that as they had their rise at the same time, they have ever since continued to increase and flourish in proportion. Their dependence is mutual, and if either of them be affected, the others sooner or later will feel it in a very sensible manner.

GREAT has been my surprize at the ignorance or malevolence of several late productions. The writers of them, either blinded by passion, or employed and instigated by the
enemies

enemies of the *British* empire, have endeavoured to sow discord and dissention between the Mother Country and her *American* Colonies. Some have strove to render the colonists suspected, by representing them as an ungrateful, licentious people, aiming at independence, and impatient of any subordination to *Great-Britain*; whilst others, no less enemies to the welfare and prosperity of both, would excite *their* jealousy, by undervaluing the assistance *she* has offered them, and placing her in the light of a cruel Stepmother.

I am too well convinced of the good sense of my countrymen, both of *Britain* and *America*, to imagine them capable of being deluded by such partial representations. Considering themselves as members of one grand body politic, they will naturally conclude, that the good of the whole must result from a due connection and harmony of all the parts; and from the mutual exchange and intercourse of friendly offices. Nevertheless, as this point seems to have been controverted, a few observations, tending to evince, that a “perpetual *UNION* between *Great-Britain* and her *American* Colonies, will be mutually and

reciprocally

reciprocally advantageous," may not be less agreeable, than necessary, in the present Dissertation.

THIS is a subject, the most truly important and interesting, which can claim a *Briton's* notice, and does honour to that worthy gentleman who propos'd its discussion by the Sons of this Seminary. Struck with its vast delicacy and importance, and conscious of inability to treat it in a manner suited to its dignity, I had almost declin'd the arduous task; but it is a glory even to fail in great attempts; and if I should afford a hint to some abler pen, or contribute to remove the smallest prejudice, I shall think myself extremely happy in being so far beneficial to the public.

WE have already observed, that the defence, the strength and glory of *Britain*, principally depend on her Navy; and that her Navy can only be maintained by Trade and Commerce. These are points too plain to be denied or disputed by the most obstinate and perverse sceptic: and it is a very natural inference from these premises, that whatever contributes to enlarge and extend her commerce, is highly advantageous to *Great Britain*.

It

It must likewise be acknowledged, that new settlements and young countries stand in need of the assistance and protection of some powerful commercial state. Destitute of these, they would be exposed to the attacks of lawless invaders, for want of strength to defend themselves, and to the inclemency of weather for want of proper cloathing; for manufactures cannot be brought to any degree of perfection, or extended to advantage, except in well-settled countries; although agriculture, where the land is tolerably fertile, and the settlement secure, may enable the inhabitants to procure the necessary manufactures in return for its productions.

I HOPE therefore to make it appear, that a reciprocal emolument will arise from a perpetual union between *Britain* and her *American Colonies*; as she may by their means greatly enlarge her trade and commerce, and become still more rich and powerful; and as they will reap the advantage of her riches and power, by being protected from their enemies, and supplied with the conveniencies of life at a cheaper rate, and of a better quality than if manufactured by themselves.

IF

IF we take a survey of the commerce of *Britain*, we shall find it extended to almost every part of the known world; there is scarcely any place considerable for trade that is not visited by her adventurous merchants. The means which have enabled her to acquire, and support with dignity and advantage, such large mercantile connections, are to be sought for in her various manufactories; amongst which the Woollen is universally allowed the preference. Commercial writers have taken much pains to enumerate the particular kinds of *British* manufactures; to shew their mutual dependence, and wherein the peculiar advantage of each consists. As their works are in every one's hands, it is the less necessary for me to repeat their substance, and to particularize the articles which contribute to support the trade of *Britain*.

BUT there are two branches of commerce, which though not so generally attended to, are nevertheless most highly beneficial. The Fisheries of *Newfoundland*, *Cape-Breton* and *St. John's*, and there-exportation of foreign goods, have greatly increased the *British* navigation,
riches

riches and power. It is supposed that 2000 sail of vessels are employed in those fisheries: the number of hands necessary to navigate them, to cure and dry the fish, must be very large; and great the consumption of provisions, nets and other utensils, brought almost entirely from *England*.

Goods for re-exportation are received from different quarters; some from *Germany*, *Flanders*, &c. but in the greatest quantities from the *East-Indies* and *America*. The bullion sent to the former, is made an objection to that trade, the force of which it is not my province to determine. Nothing of this sort can, however, be objected to the trade to the *American* plantations, which is of all most advantageous to the nation. There is scarcely any one species of *English* manufactures, that is not vended in *America*; those of *India* likewise come here to a ready market. In short, it is from *Great-Britain*, that the Colonies import almost every thing, requisite for cloathing, agriculture, and other uses. In return for these, they send her Sugar, Tobacco, Rice, Furs, Pot-ash, Naval Stores,

H

Gold

Gold and Silver, and the ballance of a considerable trade with *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other countries, bordering on the *Mediterranean*, in Bills of Exchange.

HERE is an occasion to expatiate on the benefits deriv'd to *Britain* from each of these particulars; to observe the prodigious prices she paid for them to foreigners, before their production in *British America*, and the comparatively small prices for which they are procured at present. The large quantities re-exported to foreign markets, and producing a demand upon them for very great sums annually, might also be mentioned with much propriety. Nor would it be amiss to shew the immense addition these articles bring to the revenue. But all these topics have been so largely insisted on in late pamphlets and detached pieces, and must be so well known to every one, that further mention of them is unnecessary. Only I would beg leave to observe a particular still unnoticed; in the year 1703, the government of *Sweden* refused a supply of Pitch and Tar, unless for ready money, at their own price, and in *Swedish* bottoms.

bottoms. Such a gross imposition awaken'd the indignation and resentment of *Britain*, and taught the true policy of deriving them from the Colonies. Encouragement was thereupon given, and soon produced a sufficient quantity to answer all her demands. But the spirit of the nation was again lull'd; the *Sweeds* resumed their trade, and that of *America* was very much neglected.

SOME, perhaps, will readily grant, that the exportation of these articles from *America*, is beneficial to her, and serves to enrich her inhabitants; but in what respect can it be esteemed advantageous to *Britain*?

THIS question admits a very obvious solution. It is advantageous to *Britain* in various respects. It affords freight for many thousand ton of her shipping, and a nursery of seamen for the royal navy; the commissions enrich her merchants, and the re-exportation brings abundance of wealth into the kingdom. The duties they pay are an immense increase of the revenue, and they are received from the plantations in return for *British* productions and manufactures, of which the Colonies

take off more than any foreign market whatever. The importation of *British* goods, and those received by the way of *Britain*, has, on a medium, for several years past, amounted to upwards of two millions annually; a sum so immense, that although the Colonies abound with valuable articles, extremely well adapted to the *British* market, and very beneficial to her trade and navigation, and though they make large remittances by the way of *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, in bills of exchange, yet the produce of all these sources leaves a large ballance in favour of *Britain*, which they pay her in gold and silver. This in part furnishes bullion for the *East-India* trade; on account of which, and the vast consumption of *India* goods, the flourishing condition of that valuable branch of commerce, may, in no small degree, very justly be attributed to the *American* Colonies.

Thus we see, that not only every species of the manufactures of *Britain*, but also her foreign trade and navigation are much indebted to *America*. Hence riches have flowed into her coffers, and enabled her to support a fleet,
sufficient

sufficient to maintain the empire of the ocean. And whoever considers the state of the Colonies, must conclude, that they have not been losers by their intercourse with their mother country. Consideration being had of the short time the *American* settlements have been made, the inhabitants have increased in riches and number to admiration; though far from enjoying that affluence, of which some would represent them possessed. The advantages of their trade have been mutual. *She*, by their means, has continued to rise in wealth and power; whilst *they*, in the sunshine of her assistance and protection, and the enjoyment of a beneficial commerce, have grown up and flourished, and still continue to flourish, the equal advantage, ornament, and glory of *Britain*.

BUT, should we only take a retrospect, should we confine ourselves barely to what is past, much injustice would be done to this animating subject, and we should lose a prospect which cannot but afford the highest pleasure to every *Briton*. Let us therefore look forward to the mutual benefits, which, with proper attention, may hereafter arise.

IN

IN order to this, it will be necessary briefly to enumerate those articles of *Great-Britain's* foreign importations, which have relation to the present subject. They are raw, thrown and wrought Silk, Velvets, Linens, Timber, Boards, Pot-ash, and all kinds of Naval Stores. Several writers on trade have computed the ballances paid by *Britain* for those sorts of goods to *France, Italy, Germany, Flanders, Norway, Denmark, Sweeden* and *Russia*; and none I have met with make the amount less than two millions annually; this she discharges in gold and silver. Perhaps matter of fact may be opposed to this estimate, because there is not so great an exportation of bullion; but the argument is not hereby invalidated. If the ballance on some other trade: which would else be brought home and added to the national stock, be diverted and sent to those places, it is equally pernicious to the kingdom, as if it was imported and then exported. And this is certainly the case. *Britain* on her particular trade with *Holland*, for instance, has a right to a very large ballance in specie; but the latter, by keeping in her Debt the nations abovementioned, or several
of

them, who have demands on *Britain*, is enabled by their means to satisfy her *British* creditors, and save her money; and besides this, bullion is sent to *Holland* to answer bills of exchange drawn in favour of those nations.

THE consideration of this must deeply affect every one, who has at heart the trade and prosperity of *Great-Britain*, and would preserve her independent of her *European* neighbours; especially as the wollen manufactory is in its decline. *France* not only supplies her own people with woollens, but by the cheapness of her goods, and the countenance of the court of *Spain*, has in a great measure supplanted *England* in the *Spanish* markets. The *Spaniards* themselves, sensible of their impolitic conduct, seem determined to persist no longer in an error, the result of ill-grounded principles and mistaken notions of honour. They have made several efforts to establish manufactories of their own Wool, which have by no means proved fruitless. Other nations of *Europe*, observing the success of *France*, have copied her example, by
which

which *England* has lost much of her woollen trade, particularly with *Portugal*, where the importation of this staple commodity seems to meet with many discouragements.

FROM this reflection our attention is naturally turned to *America*, which will be her surest, and perhaps in time, her only market, as ~~the~~ fabrication is likely to take place in every part of *Europe*. If under these circumstances, such large sums are continually paid for foreign imports, the ballance of trade in favour of *Britain* will be materially diminished. The only remedy for this growing evil is to be found in *America*, who can furnish a variety of the most useful raw materials on terms mutually beneficial.

GREAT quantities of Furs and Peltry have been, and still are, sent from the Colonies to *Britain*, the acquisition of *Canada* having thrown that whole trade into our hands; but it is capable of greater improvement, and may well supersede the fur trade to *Russia*. The *Northern Indians*, with a little encouragement, will bring their Ermines and other fine furs from the 70th degree of latitude,
which

which is parallel with the *European* countries, where the most valuable Furs are procured. The distance those people will travel to trade with our settlements, is well known to all acquainted with their affairs. This would likewise be a means of dispersing *British* manufactures amongst a multitude of *Indian* tribes, at present unknown to our traders.

IRON mines are so plenty in almost every province on the continent, that it is thought with good reason, they could supply all the markets in *Europe*.

As for Timber, Boards, Pitch and Tar, they may likewise be procured here in great abundance. *British America*, extended along the coast more than 2000 miles, and reaching an unknown, but prodigious way into the continent, is almost one continued forest, fill'd with every kind of useful timber, notwithstanding the great devastations made within the two last centuries.

HERE it may possibly be objected, that the expensive freight of these bulky articles, would render them unfit for the *English* markets. The *Danes*, *Swedes*, and others,

I employed

employed at present in the Lumber trade, are no doubt by long experience become skillfull and can afford their goods at the cheapest rates: but the Colonies might be put upon a par with them by encouragement from the legislature. Greater difficulties in other instances have yielded to the efforts of *British* adventurers. *America* may vie with any country whatever in plenty of materials, and other conveniences; and if large bulky ships were built, of seven or eight hundred tons, capable of being navigated by fewer hands in proportion to their burthen, than those in present use, the expence of navigation would be much diminished. The difference of distance between *America*, and the Gulphs of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, from *London*, is inconsiderable; and *America* is nearest to *Lisbon*, *Cadiz*, and all the markets to the *Southward* of *Cape Finisterre*, and therefore, might more conveniently supply those markets.

THE inconvenience, and even absurdity of being supplied with Naval Stores by foreigners, besides the disadvantage of consuming the national wealth, is very evident. Every one knows, that should a war be entered into with
those

nations, or should they be confederated with the enemies of *Britain*, by cutting off the sinews of her strength, they might reduce her to the utmost distresses. Both inconveniences would be remedied, if Naval Stores were entirely procured from *America*; who, being connected with the Mother Country by every powerful tie, would not fail to afford them in plenty on any emergency.

HEMP, Flax and Silk, manufactured and unmanufactured, are articles for which *Britain* pays large sums to foreigners, as was observed before. Rough materials may be procured in the Colonies, which abound with low bottoms and deep rich soils, requiring only cultivation to produce the most luxuriant crops of Hemp and Flax, particularly in the *Southern Colonies*. To confirm this, I might mention the fertility of *Egypt*, which lies nearly under the same parallels of latitude with *Florida, Georgia, Carolina* and *Virginia* and is famous for the production of these commodities in the greatest perfection; but experience is preferable to a thousand arguments.

I MENTION Silk, because the abundance of Mulberry-trees in the *Southern* Colonies, seems naturally to point out the cultivation of that valuable article. To this may be added, that their soil, climate and marine situation, are pretty much the same with *Nankin* and *Chekiang*, the most famous Silk provinces in all *China*. These circumstances afford good reason to believe, the Silk-worm would thrive very well here, and experience heightens the belief into certainty. Small trials have been made, and some silk produced in *Carolina*, was esteemed by good judges equal to the finest of *China* or *Italy*. The hands employed in the cultivation of Hemp and Flax, will have sufficient leisure to gather the leaves and feed the worms, which will enable the planters to afford all these articles cheaper than may at first be imagined.

FROM this it seems evident, that materials for carrying on the Silk and Linen manufactories to the greatest extent, may be procured from *America*. And in *Great-Britain* are prodigious numbers of poor, who would chearfully work to maintain themselves and families, doom'd to misery for want of employment.

employment. To establish manufactories of those goods by public encouragement, would therefore be an undertaking of the highest utility both to *Britain* and the Colonies. "*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*" It could be no disgrace to imitate in this respect the policy of *France*, who knowing that trade is the only solid foundation of greatness, is endeavouring to monopolize the three grand branches of manufactures.

NOR need the woollen manufacturer be afraid, that his business would hereby receive the smallest prejudice. There is a sufficient number of hands in the three kingdoms to carry on each of them to the greatest advantage. Many who at present can't afford themselves the necessary covering, would then be able to purchase more decent and comfortable cloathing; and the Colonies having their sources of remittance enlarged, would increase their already enormous demands for *British* manufactures.

SHOULD this beneficial scheme be carried into execution, more than two millions would be annually saved to the nation; adequate

quate employment provided for an incredible number of hands in *Britain* and *America*; and the trade, navigation and riches of both would receive very large additions.

It may possibly be thought from my appearing to confine fabrication to *Great-Britain*, that I am no friend to the Colonies, as there has of late been so many proposals for erecting manufactories in *America*. I should esteem myself very unhappy in the displeasure of my countrymen. None of the numerous sons of *British America* more ardently wishes her prosperity than myself, or has a heart more devoted to her service. Conscious therefore of the rectitude of my intentions, I will not doubt of being heard with candor, tho' I venture to maintain, that to divert their hands from their present lucrative Employments, and set them to work on manufactories, would be incompatible with the true interest of the Colonies.

THE number of their inhabitants, though near three millions, is small in proportion to the extent of continent they possess. Lands are consequently cheap, and labour dear; whatever,

whatever therefore can be produced by means of the land with little labour, must prove most advantageous. Hence arises the propriety of ship-building, wherein the materials, thus procurable, are of primary consideration.

For the same reason, agriculture will bring more emolument to the Colonies, than could possibly arise from manufacturing goods, whose chief value depends on the artificer's labour. Nor will this circumstance render them at all more dependent. Abounding with the necessaries of life, and materials for fabrication, the produce of the willing earth, they can at any time *command* a supply of the goods they want, in greater plenty, and of a better quality than would have been the result of their labour, employed in manufactures. I would not be understood by this reasoning, to exclude the industrious farmer from working up his Wool, and other coarse articles, unfit for exportation; this will be doubly advantageous, it will be a saving to himself, and enable him to pay for the finer goods he may purchase with greater ease and punctuality.

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Now upon a review of the whole we find, that the trade of *Great-Britain* to some places is vastly advantageous, bringing large sums of money into the kingdom; to others, although no returns are made in specie, but as much of their produce and manufactures received as is sent them of *British*, it is nevertheless profitable, affording employment for her people; to a third sort, though perhaps lucrative to some private merchants, it is very pernicious, and unprofitable to the nation in general, as it drains the kingdom of great quantities of gold and silver. We may also observe, that the necessity of continuing the latter is removed by the colonies, which are capable of furnishing, at least, materials for manufacturing all the particulars procured thereby, with mutual benefit. It likewise appears, that a great part of her most advantageous trade depends on the Colonies, and that it may be still farther improved by *America*; that whilst the Colonies have contributed so much to enrich and aggrandize their mother country, they have themselves been enriched and protected; and that the scheme for rendering them still more advantageous to *Britain*, promises them an equal share of profit.

WHOEVER

WHOEVER considers these circumstances, will, I am persuaded, anticipate my conclusion; but I cannot dismiss the subject without suggesting another argument, which will not be esteemed a trifling one by men of seriousness and reflection. The benefits arising from the Protestant Religion to those states which have embraced it, and indeed to the world in general, are very obvious. Every one, acquainted with the affairs of *Europe*, must acknowledge their situation is far better than it was four or five centuries ago; the religious and civil liberties of mankind, are understood with more clearness and precision; the human mind, which before was cramped and confined in its researches, has become more expanded, and acquired much clearer knowledge in the Arts, in Philosophy and Divinity. It is now very well known, that Philosophy does not consist in monkish jargon, and that without Virtue there can be no Religion. Even those countries, that are enemies to Protestantism, have been sharers in its happy effects; the rays of knowledge have, in some measure, illuminated their clouded understandings; but like those of the sun within the *Polar* climates, they are weak and languid.

Great-Britain has been the bulwark of the Protestant interest, ever since its existence; and by her the attacks of its enemies have been repelled. The *British* Colonies, established on principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, have hitherto been protected therein by their own noble efforts, and her kind assistance; and while they remain united, the enjoyment of their liberties of both kinds, will, no doubt, be continued in its full extent. What would be the consequence of a disunion, none can tell; but there is more than a probability, that these particulars would be deeply affected. *France*, our ever-watchful enemy, will be ready to seize any advantage that may offer. She would have her armaments prepared to enter by *St. Lawrence* and the *Mississippi*, and might possibly over-run all the Colonies. Should this be the case, the candle of Science would be soon extinguished, and Ignorance introduced, in order to keep up a blind devotion and implicit obedience. The Genius of Liberty would be driven from *British America*, where she hath hitherto delighted to reside; and whether the mother country would be more fortunate, I leave to the consideration of her Patriot Sons.

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SINCE, then, so many reciprocal advantages are the result of Union between *Britain* and *America*; to render that Union perpetual, will be the only means of securing and transmitting them to posterity, together with those immense benefits, which are yet in prospect. Interest and affection,---all the tender and endearing ties, which connect mankind,---backed by the venerable authority of Religion, plead for it with irresistible eloquence.

WHETHER the Union ought to remain on its present establishment, or whether it should receive a new form and impression, are matters foreign to my purpose: Only permit me to suggest that, in the important determination, no partial views should be pursued; but the interest of each, and its relation to the whole, should have a proper consideration.---He must be either a madman, or a novice in politicks, who would set the interest of one in competition with that of the other.---They are inseparably connected, and must stand or fall together.---That maxim of Mr. *Pope* may be here applied with much truth and propriety;---“ Self love and social are the same:” each will find their accounts in promoting

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moting the others happiness and prosperity. In the discussion, the trade of the colonies merits a peculiar attention. Should those methods, I have taken the liberty to mention, be fallen upon to enlarge it, and free ports established in some parts of *British America*, the national riches would be greatly increased. The inhabitants of the *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, and other *American* settlements, would resort thither for supplies of *British* manufactures, and the produce of the Colonies ; leaving in exchange for them large quantities of gold and silver ; a very considerable part of which would ultimately center in *Great-Britain*.

WARMED and animated with a sincere love for my country, I cannot but indulge a pleasing hope, that *Britain* and her colonies, sensible of their true interest, will steadily and with unremitting zeal pursue measures calculated to cement this Union.---The repeal of a late * act of the *British* parliament, and the present favourable disposition of that most respectable body, fill us with the highest joy, and promise redress of all our grievances : and I am well persuaded, my fellow subjects

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of *America* will not be wanting in any proper expressions of deference and subordination to the head of the *British* empire.....The wound, which seemed to be attended with symptoms fatal to the mutual confidence subsisting between them, will now be healed, and I flatter myself without a scar, by way of remembrance. Jealousies will subside; animosities be forgotten; harmony will be preserved in every part of the body politick; and innumerable blessings entailed on posterity.

END of SECOND DISSERTATION.





DISSERTATION III.

Divide et impera.

HOWEVER mankind, as individuals, may be swayed by the different motives of passion, prejudice, and honour; yet, when formed into states and communities, these all subside; and Interest becomes the grand prevailing principle that actuates all their motions. It is the Pole-star by which the political pilot must ever guide the helm of government, where too keen a pursuit of it does not interfere with the faith of treaties, or the natural rights of mankind. An accurate discernment therefore of the true interest of a nation, and a steady active prudence in the pursuit of it, constitute the true political wisdom that ought to distinguish every statesman.

man. And so sensible are ministers of every complexion of the truth of this doctrine, that, however selfish and pernicious their views, they seldom fail to cover them over with the plausible and specious colouring of national advantage.

THE establishing a grand COMMERCIAL INTEREST seems now to be the great object of the regard and attention of the different states of Europe. To this they are every day sacrificing the less important considerations of national pride and prejudice. Whatever, therefore, tends to promote or obstruct this great principle of government, is now become a matter of serious consequence, which deserves the closest attention and the tenderest care. And amidst the rivalry and contention of the several European powers in attaining this capital point, happy will that nation be, whose administration shall lead to such measures as are most conducive to this end, as a superiority may now be gained that may blast the hopes, and at once dash the expectations, of its aspiring competitors.

If there is any one, who at present bids fairest for this pre-eminence, it is *Great Britain*, whose

whose free and happy constitution most admirably protects and cherishes an enterprising commercial spirit. A security of person and property is essentially necessary to the very being of a *commercial nation*, and in this respect none of its rivals can claim superiority to the happy subjects of *Britain*, whose wise and valiant ancestors have handed down to them this glorious security, sealed with their blood. But not even this, nor her natural situation so well adapted for safety from her enemies and the advancement of her trade, nor yet the active genius and temper of her children may be sufficient to ensure her success, if her colonies are neglected or oppressed. If properly attended to, they will prove the true sources of her wealth and power, and enable her to soar above her emulating neighbours, who will view her rapid progress with envy and admiration. To enumerate the many mutual advantages they have already received from their close and intimate connection would be no easy task---but it would require little less than inspiration to foresee all the reciprocal advantages that will attend a future Union between them formed upon proper, upon generous principles.

To point out those that are most obvious, and which must necessarily follow, is the design of this Essay, which pretends to no more than sketching out the imperfect out-lines of a picture, whose beauty has indeed been shaded: but we trust and believe that time and experience will point out those blemishes, and soon restore it to its former purity and lustre. To facilitate this has been the design of the generous friend to this institution, who proposed the discussion of the present subject; and it is a design worthy the benevolent patriotic spirit of an English Senator.

Rome the mistress of the world and arbiter of nations, by her wise policy and prudent conduct to her allies and colonists, raised herself to an astonishing pitch of grandeur and power; she encouraged, she incorporated, and never deprived them of any essential privileges. By these rules she gained their affections, and of factious, turbulent citizens, and often of inveterate enemies she made faithful, zealous, and useful subjects. *Great-Britain* has at much expence of blood and treasure secured and protected her *American* colonies from the designs of *France*, who viewed their rising power and growing importance with a jealous eye, and therefore determined to nip them in
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the bud, before they could ripen to any degree of formidable perfection. Happily for us these ambitious and fatal projects were crushed by the united valour and skill of *Great-Britain* and her provinces. To a happy and successful Union in War, let us then add the happy and harmonious Union of Peace, nor lose its blessings by in-attention to, or disregard of, the inestimable advantages that may, nay that must attend it.

Colonies are emigrations from the mother country, either occasioned by a quick Population, so as to render it too small for the support of its growing inhabitants ; or by Oppression, Tyranny, and undue exercise of Power ; or sometimes by the distresses and desolation of War.

In the first case, they are always formed not only with the countenance, but with the express encouragement and direction of the mother country.---In the second instance unless prohibited by legal authority, they generally go with its implied consent. In the last, which was the case of the *Trojans* after the destruction of *Troy*, they go under a necessity which is superior to all law. In either of these cases then, but especially the two

first, they cannot be supposed to relinquish their claim to any of the rights and privileges of the country from which they go, nor yet to have forfeited it. No; however remote, they still continue subjects of the same kingdom, and unless specially relinquished, intitled to all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of that country, of which they form one or more of the constituent parts. If this be as true in fact as it is grateful in supposition, the analogy made by an eminent writer * between the *American* colonies and those of *Spain*, which he supposes to be settled upon the same principles, and therefore to be governed by the same policy, must appear very strange. But the principle upon which it is founded, is as erroneous as the consequence deduced from it is derogatory to ENGLISH LIBERTY.

The AMERICAN COLONIES have been entire-settled by those who came under the immediate protection and countenance of the government, or fled to it as an asylum from arbitrary and oppressive power. A due consideration of the rights they claim, and the duties they owe to the mother country, may be necessary in some degree to ascertain with precision the advantages that will accrue from a
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* Dr. Strahan's Preface to Domat's Civil Law.

compleat, and perfect Union. These *rights* and *duties* are RECIPROCAL, as well as the Interest which arises from them.

THE *Rights* we claim are the *full* and *free* enjoyment of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY, PROTECTION from foreign invasions, and *encouragement* in every *commercial interest*, which does not directly interfere with that of the mother country.

THE *Duties* we owe, are OBEDIENCE under *constitutional* and *legal* restrictions, and an exclusive preference to the mother country in every article of commerce and trade. Under one or other of these heads, however widely diffused, may be comprized every duty, either owing to or from the mother country. And it is by a due and mutual observance of these only, that their respective and reciprocal interests can be promoted. From this just and wise policy will flow all those advantages which render a close and perfect Union so desirable an object---and these may be considered either as they tend to increase the power and glory of *Great-Britain*, or as they advance its grand commercial interest, and
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become the channels of its wealth. Or with regard to the Colonies, as they conduce to their safety, nourishment and protection; for though the true riches of a nation are said to consist in the number of its inhabitants, and treasures are called the sinews of war, it is very certain a nation may be very poor, and very powerful at the same time; or abound with wealth, and yet be weak and impotent. *Rome*, in its early ages, was poor in every thing but the public spirit and bravery of her people, while she was the dread and terror of the nations round her. And *Spain* is at present a lively instance that wealth and power are not inseparable; who, as the treasures of the *Indies* have flowed in upon her, has lost the martial animated spirit of her ancestors.

As subjects of the same kingdom, bearing allegiance to the same Prince, and controuled by the same executive power, the *Americans* are bound to contribute, in proportion to their numbers and abilities, to the defence and safety of the common cause. What an accession of power to the *British* empire then is three millions of subjects, dutiful, loyal and brave, who have on many occasions distinguished

distinguished themselves, and shewn they were not unworthy the glorious stock from which they sprung; who interest themselves in the honour and glory of the nation, and partake of the veneration and respect due to it?

HERE is a fund of hardy, brave soldiers, inured to fatigue and frugality, ready to engage in the service of *Great-Britain*, whenever she thinks proper to require them. From this fruitful, this increasing source, her armies and navies may receive constant supplies, not of mercenary hierlings ready to engage in the service of the highest bidder, but faithful, dutiful children, animated with becoming fortitude, freedom and loyalty. These, if encouraged, cherished and protected, will indeed prove

“ Of *Britain's* empire the support and strength.”

Thompson.

IN order to make a colony of the most use and benefit to the mother country, it is necessary that its climate, its soil, and natural produce

produce, should be essentially different from hers. This will create a necessary connection and dependance between them. The Interchanging the commodities and produce of the one, for those of the other, will not only destroy the heart-burnings and jealousy of a competition, but produce an intercourse equally beneficial and durable to both. It is happy, therefore, when the subjects of *Commerce* cannot be the same, as they thereby reap an advantage, from which other nations are excluded, who might either by withholding distress them, or raise the ballance against them when their necessities were not mutual and equal. In this respect, *Great-Britain* is peculiarly happy in her Colonies, whose wide extent and different situations include a variety of climates, soils and produce, and thus form a proper basis for the commercial interest, to which every other consideration should submit. The islands produce commodities which the mother country must use, and yet cannot raise; these therefore she must procure by an intercourse with her colonies, or lie at the mercy of those powers whose interest it might occasionally be to distress

distress her. But what adds to the advantage is, that the subjects of commerce are not only easily procured, but procured by a mutual exchange, equally convenient and satisfactory to both; and at the same time a large revenue secured, not only upon the home consumption, but on the surplus beyond their respective wants and necessities. Thus also, as to the continent, *Great-Britain*, both as a naval and commercial nation, would be in a critical, dangerous situation, if she did not hold within her own reach, all the materials necessary for the support of both. An intire dependance upon any of her neighbours for one necessary article would, in some degree, make her subject to that neighbour. But her Colonies set her above every apprehension of this kind. Her *Northern* provinces abound with timber of every kind, necessary for building and equipping her navies. Immense bodies of Ore, both Iron and Copper, are already discovered and usefully employed; and, doubtless, much more lies still concealed in the bowels of the earth, whose soil, it properly cultivated and encouraged, is richly productive of Hemp and Flax; for

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the former of which *Great-Britain* pays, *communibus annis*, £. 300,000 sterling. Her more *Southern* Colonies furnish her with the few remaining marine articles of Pitch, Tar and Turpentine.

HERE then are found all the materials of Timber, Iron, Cordage, and évery other species of Naval Stores, necessary for the support, nay, the existence of *Great-Britain* as a maritime power. Should I here mention bodies of Saltpetre, the spontaneous produce of the earth, I may perhaps be thought too premature; but if the promising appearances of that useful and expensive, but necessary commodity, be happily confirmed, here is a new source of national wealth and independance. A large and constant ballance, which *Great-Britain* pays to the *Indies* in specie, will be instantly saved, and a surer, quicker, and cheaper supply at once secured. Next to the subjects of Commerce, which are necessary to enable the mother country to maintain her independance and rank among the other powers of *Europe*, we may place all these, which are articles of convenience, Luxury, and the surplus of those commodities

modities which are not applied to naval purposes. The real and absolute necessities of life are but few, the subjects of Commerce are many and various, as they contribute not only to the real, but the imaginary, capricious wants, of mankind. To provide therefore against these wants, upon advantageous terms, is a just and necessary policy; and there are few, very few, of these articles, which the colonists cannot furnish, under proper encouragements. The islands tender the various produce of their climate equal in quantity and quality with those of their neighbours. The *Southern Colonies of North-America* have, as far as the infancy of the country will permit, produced the different articles of Silk, Rice, Indigo, Tobacco, and even the Tea plant has not been altogether uncultivated. Some of these have been carried to a much greater degree of cultivation than others; but where it has, *Great-Britain* has received a proportionate benefit. In the instance of Tobacco only, she has become not only the sole vender, but almost the sole manufacturer for *Europe*, besides the immense revenue flowing immediately into her exchequer.

WINEs are an article of luxury, and it is perhaps upon that account they have not been so much attended to by the frugal, temperate *American*; but it is certain, not only from theory, but experience, that the situation and soil of many parts of this extended continent, are well adapted for producing them. To what degree of perfection not only the cultivation of these, but the other articles of convenience and luxury may arrive, is difficult to determine; but it is easy to see, that the great, the eventual profit, will terminate in *Great-Britain*. I mentioned before the produce of the Colonies as Naval Stores, but considered as the raw materials of great and extensive manufactories, which give bread to thousands; and of idle, clamorous starving subjects, make useful and industrious citizens, I cannot err, when I say they are immensely useful to their mother country. Upon a view of the foreign trade of *Great-Britain*, we shall find, that except that to *Portugal*, the ballance is against her in every one. To *Russia*, to *Sweden*, to *Denmark*, to *Germany*, she pays annually large sums in specie, for those very commodities which her *American Colonies* can and do produce; and a great writer has observed, “That a country
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“ which constantly exports fewer manufactures or commodities than it receives, will soon find the ballance sinking, will receive less and less, till falling into extreme poverty, it will receive nothing at all.”

HERE then we may trace the great utility of the Colonies, not only that they afford a constant and sure supply of the subjects of commerce, necessary for the support of the power and manufactures of the mother country, but in that she has an indisputable exclusive preference in the sale of them; and the Colonies in return are the fixed and constant customers for all her manufactures and commodities, to which they are indispensably obliged to give the preference over those of other countries; for as the design of colonizing was not to found a new empire, but to extend the old, there is no impropriety in appropriating the trade of the Colonies to the mother country only. If the ballance was therefore in favour of Colonies, as is the case between *Great-Britain* and the *East-Indies*, it would be more eligible it should fall into the hands of its own subjects, however remote, than into those of a foreign power. But where that ballance is actually and greatly

greatly in favour of the mother country, it becomes an interest that ought to be very dear; to the cultivating of which, the greatest care and attention of government should be applied. That this is the case of *Great-Britain* and her continental Colonies, the vast exportation of bullion, and the still remaining debt of five millions, most evidently evince. With what a rapid, astonishing progress, this beneficial, this lucrative trade has advanced, the growing increase of the exports declare, which arose from the Year 1744, from £. 1,436,227, to the amazing amount of £. 2,710,520. To this the mother country, in a great measure, owes her continuance as a trading nation, when deprived of her valuable *Levant* trade and her intercourse even with *Portugal* greatly diminished, and lessened by her active industrious rivals, the *French* and *Dutch*. It is from this fountain those treasures flow, which enable her to pay the respective ballances to those countries with whom she trades, on a disadvantageous footing. *America*, it is true, does not extract them immediately from her own bowels. She has a more valuable and durable resource, in
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in the labour and industry of her inhabitants; who exchange the surplus of their commodities, beyond their own consumption, (and which might, in some respects, interfere with the staples of the mother country, or at least be useless to her) for those treasures which are only valuable to the colonists, as they enable them to discharge past, and contract future engagements for the manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

WHILE, therefore, she possesses a market, which she can call *exclusively* her own, subject to her own regulations, and the ballance always in her favour; whatever the Colonies may acquire from any collateral branches of trade, will quickly flow to the mother country, as the great centre of all their external profits. To restrain, therefore, or rather stop up those channels of remittance, is, in effect, to prohibit the consumption of the manufactures of *Great-Britain*, as our desires to procure them have at all times been equal to, and sometimes exceed, our ability to pay for them. Whence it follows, that a policy which ensures a small immediate revenue, at the expence of a great, though indirect national

national gain, is mean and sordid, unworthy the noble enterprizing spirit of a commercial nation.

BUT I should leave this subject very imperfect indeed, if I should omit two great funds of national wealth and power, the FISHERIES and the FUR-TRADE. The first of these is a mine richer than that of *Potosi*, and more inexhaustible. For while our Fisheries serve as a great subject of commerce, they are also a fruitful nursery of brave, hardy seamen, trained up to fatigue, to difficulty and danger.

THE FUR-TRADE, which is now secured almost beyond the reach of accident, is doubly valuable, as it is enjoyed solely and exclusively---an advantage which is not confined to a monopoly of the raw materials, and enhances their price only, but enables *Great-Britain* to be both the merchant, and the manufacturer also, and that upon her own terms; while other nations must depend upon a precarious uncertain supply, which may either be raised in its price, or totally withheld, as the fluctuating policy of interest or friendship shall require. This acquisition

acquisition is not only valuable, as it will probably revive a languishing, dying manufactory, but as it is a present, an actual, and considerable source of revenue, both on the home consumption, and also on that of foreigners.

THESE are a few of the principal advantages with which a proper cultivation, establishment and tender regard of the Colonies may be attended to the mother country. She has likewise many inferior ones. The residence of those of affluent fortunes who may be led thither by views of education, or mere curiosity is not altogether unworthy regard. These all depend on, and can only flow from a perfect compleat Union----by supporting that relationship between the Mother country and her Colonies, which has planted in their bosoms so strong and lively an affection, as to distinguish *Great-Britain* by the tender endearing appellation of HOME.

BUT 'tis time now that we should turn to the COLONIES and see what advantages they may propose to themselves from a dutiful and affectionate UNION with the mother country ; and from our past feelings we shall readily

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acknowledge we stand in need of her protection, nurture and care. Exposed by our situation, by a rivalry and competition of Interests, and yet in a state of infancy, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form any Union among ourselves that would be sufficient to repel the attacks of a formidable invader. In this weak, this defenceless state, therefore, we must look up to our indulgent parent, whose vigorous, salutary aid we have so often already experienced. Upon her we must rely for support, and under her wing shelter ourselves against any attempts of those, whose principles and government are incompatible with our Religion and Liberty. A separation would be attended with certain ruin to the Colonies, in their present situation, as they must necessarily fall a prey to one or other of those powers, who would snatch with eagerness so tempting a prize.

THE first principle of nature, self-preservation, therefore, dictates to the Colonies, a steady, a strict adherence to the mother country, as upon that depends the enjoyment of every invaluable privilege of a civil or religious nature. But we may not only consider her

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as the protector, but as the nursing mother of her Colonies. Arts, Sciences, Agriculture and Commerce, rise by slow degrees, and are long before they arrive to any degree of perfection. They are not of quick or spontaneous growth. They must be planted, cherished and encouraged. And have we not experienced the tenderness of our mother country in this respect, by her bounties dispersed not only in public channels, but by private societies and patriotic individuals? Have we not reason to expect a continuance and perhaps an increase of her benevolent efforts in our behalf? Thus taking our enterprising genius by the hand, and leading it on in the paths of industry and useful improvements.

To turn the attention of the Colonies to the cultivation of those subjects of Commerce which the mother country does not, or cannot produce, tho' to her it may be eventually profitable, is to the Colonies immediately and directly so; and when it is done by mild, by bountiful measures, deserves our gratitude and thankful returns. A fixed and permanent UNION between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, is absolutely necessary for the pre-

servation of the peace and harmony of their internal administration. For to form the constitution and plan of a new government, or even to new model and revise the old, is no easy or inconsiderable task. That of the mother country has been the work of ages; and, to use the words of an eminent writer, seems dictated by wisdom itself. While, therefore, the colonists can enjoy all the blessings of an *English* constitution undiminished and uninterrupted, it would be superlative madness and folly to run the risk of a change, which could not possibly be for the better, and might be infinitely worse. Unconnected and divided as they are at present, both in situation and interest (owing to the difference of Settlement, of Charters, of Religion, and Commerce, which are often clashing) how difficult, and next to impossible, would it be to rescue them from a state of anarchy; and form a constitution, for which I will venture to say from the extent of *America*, there can no precedent be found; a constitution which at the same time that it reconciles these jarring interests, must preserve every religious and civil Liberty intire?

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THE difficulties of an Union for the purposes of empire, are almost insuperable. To canton out the provinces into petty independent kingdoms, besides the arduous task of settling the internal police, would subject them not only to perpetual quarrels with each other, but render them an easy prey to some foreign power, as they would singly be weak, though united under one head, truly formidable. The only remaining resource of desperate distress, must be to form the provinces into districts, having full power of legislation within themselves---but subject to the controul of some supreme, superintendant authority raised out of the collective body, as in some instances in *Germany*, or with more probability like *Holland* or *Switzerland*. But this the vast extent of the Colonies will render almost impossible, as it would give being to an aristocracy---a kind of government as repugnant to the genius and temper of *America*, as despotic monarchy.

I THEREFORE repeat it, that the preservation of our laws, commerce, and every other blessing of domestic peace, by the wise policy of the mother country, can only be made the basis of a close and firm connection between her and them.

NEXT

NEXT to the security of a state, its wealth and convenience are to be regarded, and to judge how beneficial *Great-Britain* is to the Colonies in this respect, it may be proper to remark, that as other countries produce the same commodities, and have hitherto been able to undersell the *Americans* in a variety of articles, wherever an exclusive, or even a preferable market has been given to the latter, the advantage must be obvious. This has been done in many instances by prohibitions, or by duties charged on such commodities as interfered with those from the Colonies, which in some cases amount to a prohibition. The *British* Whale Fishery has been almost wholly given up, in favour of the *American* Fisheries. Sugars, Hemp, Indigo and Tobacco, besides a variety of other articles from the Colonies, have met with every mark of encouragement, while the same commodities from other countries have been discountenanced, or wholly prohibited. This is wise and just policy in the mother country, at the same time that it discovers a tender regard to her children, and makes it their interest to unite more closely. In short they have every thing that can make a nation great, happy and powerful to hope from a Union, every thing that is dangerous to fear from a division.

“ *Divide*

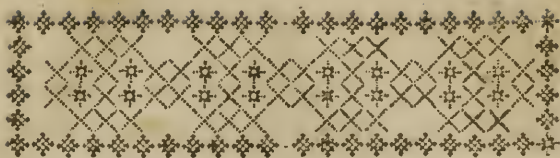
“ *Divide et impera*,” was the *Roman* motto. May it not be applicable to *Great-Britain* and her *American Colonies*, who, if united, have proved themselves equal, nay superior to two of the principal powers of *Europe*; but if divided, if struggling with intestine commotions and civil discord, I fear will prove unable to contend with either. This, to use the expression of a great and eminent friend of the Colonies, is the *grand FAMILY COMPACT*, which must be cemented by every tie of duty, loyalty and affection from the Provinces, and every mark of kind protecting tenderness from the mother country. A fatal, undiscerning policy had almost snapt these interesting cords asunder, never perhaps to have been closed again; but the guardian genius of *Britain* and of *America* stept between them and ruin, and with outstretched hand saved a sinking nation.

THE *Romans* decreed a crown to him who saved the life of a citizen in battle; but what crowns or statues can do sufficient honour to the Man or Men who save a country, a kingdom, in the hour of distress, and rescue a falling state from the brink of ruin? *Rome* may justly boast her *Brutus's*, her *Curtius's*, her *Cato's*

Cato's and her *Tully's*---they were the *Pitts*, the *Conways* and the *Barres* of that age, alike warmed by the sacred fire of *Liberty*, alike crowned with Immortality, and handed down to posterity the wonder and delight of admiring nations. These glorious architects; nobly aided by many others whose names will be held in long veneration, have prop'd the tottering fabrick of the *British* EMPIRE, and pointed out that noble, generous policy, which will make one great system of government, whereof *Britain* will be the common centre of attraction.


UNDER such a policy, we can with joy look forwards, and behold PEACE, LIBERTY and COMMERCE diffusing their kindly influence over all the parts of GREAT-BRITAIN'S *Empire*; whose true happiness and permanent security can be no way effectually established but by "a perpetual UNION between her and her AMERICAN COLONIES!"

End of DISSERTATION III.



DISSERTATION IV.

By FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq;


 T this important juncture, when the eyes of all *America* are lifted to the mother country in anxious expectation; when trembling fear or bold defiance, enlivening hope or mysterious surmise, distract every breast and sit in every brow; what subject can be more interesting than the "Reciprocal advantages of a perpetual Union between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies"? and yet there is no subject, perhaps, which the public is so little disposed to receive with candour, and judge of with impartiality. How then shall 'a native of *America*, and an unexperienced writer, especially in matters of such high importance, presume to draw his pen? But the worthy Gentleman who has proposed this subject, and back'd his proposal with the reward of distinguished honour, has raised in us who are

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candidates

candidates on this occasion, that ambition which hath, in all ages, prompted men to greater undertakings than cooler judgement would have suffered them to engage in.

I do not mean, in this *little Essay*, to calculate the advantages of *trade* between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, in order to shew that they are *reciprocal*. By the very nature of Commerce they must be so. There is no country in the world that exports staple commodities or manufactures, but for an advantage to be gained; or imports them, but for the same reason.

As the God of nature has adapted different countries to abound in different kinds of produce, or excell in various useful arts; it is evident, that a commercial intercourse must redound to the benefit of the whole. But how must this advantage be increased when we consider that *Great Britain*, in her trade with her Colonies, does not support a foreign people, whose religion, politics and customs are different from her own; but she supports and nourishes her own offspring, at the same time that she enriches herself by the natural profits of an extensive trade; and she strengthens herself by protecting and encouraging her own religion, government and customs, transplanted to *America*.

COMMERCE between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies, is like the wholesome food which a man eats. He cannot say, his head, his hands or his feet, are more particularly benefited by it; but the finer parts thereof circulate through the whole body, and the whole body is nourished and supported.

THE three grand objects worthy the attention of a wise people, are the state of their *Commerce*, *Liberty* and *Religion*. If the *Commerce*, the *Liberty*, and *Religion*, both of *Great-Britain* and her Colonies can alone be supported and strengthened by a close and lasting Union between them, then the *reciprocal advantages* of such an UNION must be self-evident.

I HAVE slightly touched the first of these. There have been so many accurate mercantile calculations made in almost every pamphlet that has been lately published on the subject, that I take it for granted, as a truth universally admitted, that the advantages of trade between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies are reciprocal.

WITH respect to *political Liberty*, should it not be the glory of *England* to transplant, to water and carefully to nurse, even in a

distant land, a system of government which is the admiration of the world; and should not *America* adopt, and cheerfully submit to such a government? Were it possible for *Great-Britain*, with an high and arbitrary hand, to think of snatching from her Colonies the essential privileges of *Englishmen*, and yet would have them submit as *Englishmen* to her government, and bear only the name and appearance of the free-born sons of Liberty; it would be to dress her slaves in livery, and deck *America* in robes of paper, to make her the contempt and derision of every other nation. On the other hand, should the Colonies, with base ingratitude, attempt to throw off all dependance on the mother country, they would put themselves in the situation of a silly girl, who leaves the guidance and protection of a wise and affectionate parent, and wandering away exposes herself to ruin by the artful insinuations of every wicked and designing stranger. But why should the mutual connection between the parent-country and her Colonies ever come into question? Are we not one nation and one people? And do we not own obedience to
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one common King? Those who adopt the same religion, the same plans of government, and the same customs, are undoubtedly of the same nation. Different climates and different soils mark out countries, but not nations. We of *America*, are in all respects *Englishmen*, notwithstanding that the *Atlantic* rolls her waves between us and the throne to which we all own allegiance. Nor can we, though in ever so flourishing a state, throw off our dependance, or dissolve this *Union*, without breaking the very bonds of nature. As well might the branch say unto the trunk, See how I glow with blossoms and wave with foliage: I have no further need of thy sap, keep it for thy own nourishment!

ON the other hand, does not *Great-Britain* by transplanting her constitution into *America*, as a scion from the stock, propagate her own likeness? Nay, does she not make unto herself another crown and another sceptre?

IN all attacks that shall be made upon *Great-Britain* by the numerous rivals of her power, and enemies to her prosperity; her colonies, like a number of dutiful and promising

ming children, growing up round her, will more and more add to her strength, and contribute to her importance. And should it ever happen, amid the revolution of things human, that those enemies should prevail against her, what could her sons lose but the beautiful island they have so long possessed? Even in that case (which we trust and believe will never happen) they might find in the Colonies a safe asylum; thither they might remove with all the noble privileges of their constitution, as to a people and country they can call their own; and the *British* throne might yet shine with undiminished glory even in the present wilds of *America*.

LASTLY, with respect to the religious liberties of the people of *England*, how precious they are, let the price which has been paid for them declare-----And these will be as much strengthened by a perpetual *Union* with the colonies, as their civil liberties.

BUT exclusive of this consideration, it certainly must be the glory of *Great-Britain* to propagate, protect and encourage in her colonies that sacred system of religious truth
which

which she holds so dear. Indeed that she herself judges in this manner is evident from her many charitable donations for promoting the interest of learning and virtue in *America*.

IN short, the Protestant Religion, and particularly that excellent branch of it the national Church of England, is the pure and healthful air in which the political constitution of *Great Britain*, moves and breathes with health and vigour; religious Liberty being hereby fixed on as firm and broad a basis as Civil Liberty: both of which are so essentially interwoven with the nature of her government, that it cannot be administered without them. Nor can her empire be more effectually strengthened, than by extending with it whatever she finds valuable in her own possession. This is her interest, and it must be her honour, as it is likewise the interest and honour of the Colonies to receive, nourish and join with her in the support of every thing of this kind, which can only be done by a perpetual Union between them.

How detestable then must the politician be, who shall ever attempt to kindle the destructive

fructive flames of jealousy between two friends, whom nature seems to have united in the closest bonds, and whose hearts and interests are and ever ought to be one? Should any one ever succeed in this (which God forbid) I doubt not but that after much cruel contention and unnatural bloodshed, each would rush into the other's arms, and emphatically cry out, "We are both in the wrong."

THIS subject might be expanded into volumes, and no doubt will be; but I leave the full discussion of it to more able hands; and humbly hope this *little Essay* will be accepted as the oblation of one who intimately feels the importance of this great truth, that "a perpetual Union between *Great-Britain* and her Colonies will ever be reciprocally advantageous."



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